

# INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

EDITED BY F. W. HODGE

Vol. I



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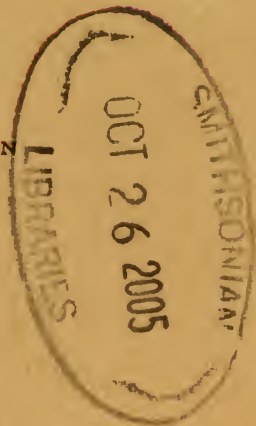
A SERIES OF PUBLICA-  
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AMERICAN ABORIGINES

## CHAPTERS ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE POWHATAN TRIBES OF VIRGINIA

BY

FRANK G. SPECK

NEW YORK  
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN  
HEYE FOUNDATION  
1928



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MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN  
HEYE FOUNDATION

BROADWAY AT 155TH ST.  
NEW YORK CITY

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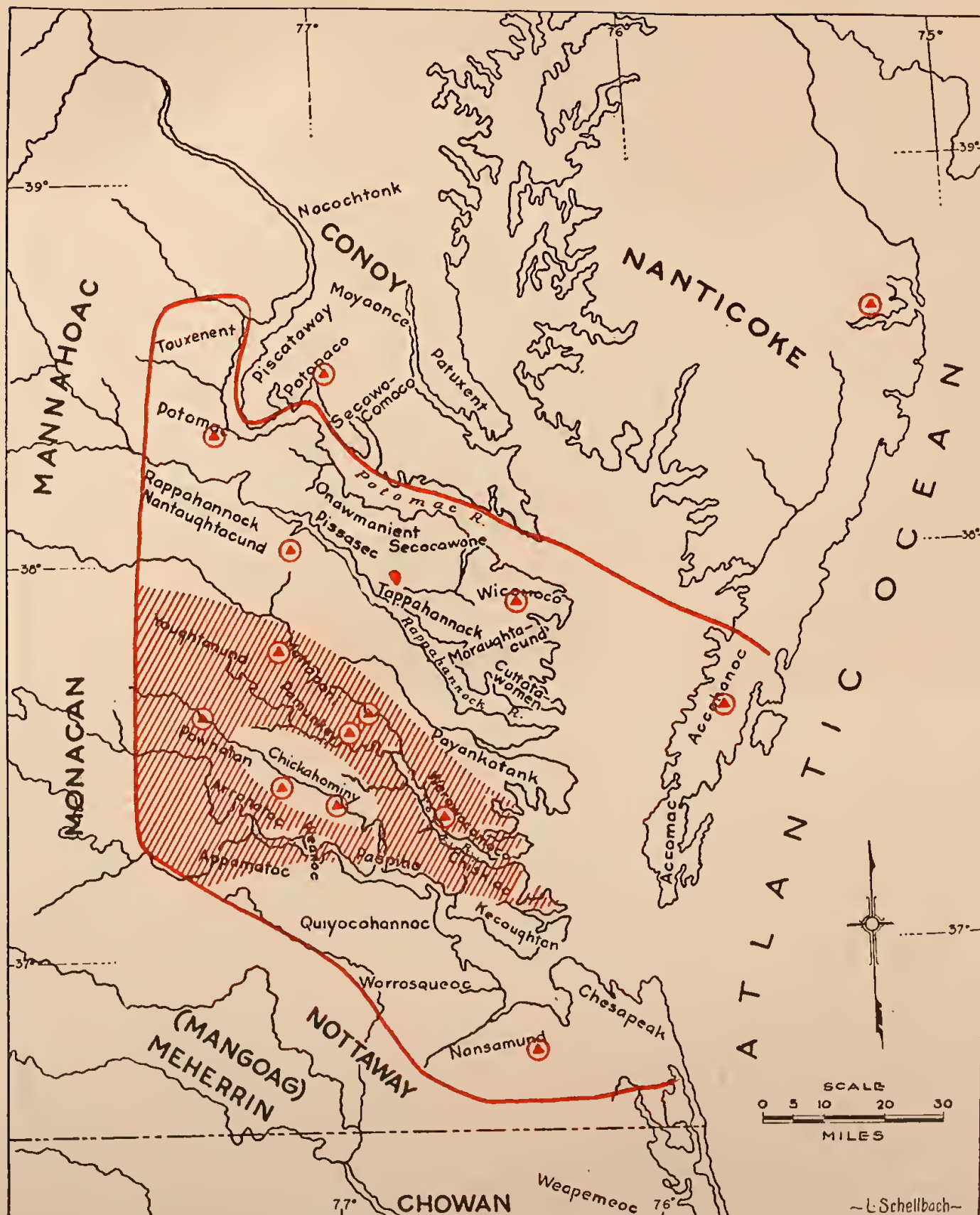
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MAP OF EASTERN VIRGINIA SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBAL GROUPS

Red boundaries denote Powhatan culture area. Inner red lines indicate Powhatan political group. Triangles show the location of existing groups of Indian descendants.





# CHAPTERS ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE POWHATAN TRIBES OF VIRGINIA

BY FRANK G. SPECK

## INTRODUCTION

**A**MID the extensive gum swamps and pine barrens of eastern Virginia there existed formerly an Indian culture area of considerable complexity and of great importance. The reason for its importance lies in the bearing it had on the absorbing problem of Algonkian distribution. The Virginia Algonkians were geographically situated near the southeastern terminus of the great linguistic family: their culture was therefore marginal to the stock. And yet the group, on account of its advancement and complexity, appeared as a peak of culture—a concretion sufficient to deserve rank as a distinct sub-center, in short, a marginal sub-center. The complexities, however, are by no means baffling, inasmuch as the main source of influence from the outside may be distinctly traced to the southeastern or Gulf area, without specifying whether it arose from Muskogian or possibly an older eastern Siouan, or even an Iroquoian culture. The Virginia tidewater Algonkians, indeed, appear to have been less Algonkian in culture than they

were in speech. A similar change of culture has been noted in the history of the Blackfeet, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, whose Algonkian affinities stand forth only through the link of language. The parental Algonkian linguistic characteristics of the Virginia branch of the stock were retained with remarkably little modification. Yet in respect to material and social life the Powhatan tribes had become converted by southern influences to such an extent that their culture status, had we no information concerning language to guide us, would trend more toward classification with the Gulf area than with the Algonkian of the north. As to the physical characteristics of the original Virginia tribes, at present we know practically nothing. A study of the modern mixed communities has, however, been begun.

A second feature of importance in an attempt at the interpretation of culture movements in this area is the part played by these intermediate Algonkians in conveying to the tribes through Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and even as far as southern New England, a collection of southern ethnic traits. Thus there was created a northeasterly culture migration, affecting, by the introduction of agriculture and its arts, the industrial and social life of Algonkian groups far into the northern hunting area. We may see how the Algonkians of the Middle Atlantic and southern New England states got their corn, bean, and tobacco culture, and most of the artifacts concerned with

those non-nomadic activities, their splint basketry, woven fiber fabrics, especially the remarkable feather technique, their mat- and bark-covered rectangular wigwams, and many other details of economic life. The custom of cleaning the bones of the dead for burial was also working northward. In surveying the social and religious aspects of eastern Algonkian life one has a strong suspicion that from the southern portion of the continent, brought along by Iroquoian migration, also came such traits as the matrilineal reckoning of descent, with animal totemic associations. With the foregoing also came the development of autocratic power vested in the hands of the hereditary chief, the weakening of the old Algonkian institution of the hunting territory as the nomadic hunting life gave way to agriculture, and finally the corn festival, to which may be added fortified stockades, ceramic influences, fish-nets, shell beads, the water-drum, the two-stick ball-game, methods of hair-dressing, the single-seam one-piece moccasin, shamanistic societies, mound erection, and group burial. After considering the circumstance of language in Virginia one might assume a southeastward migration of Algonkian-speaking peoples to have taken place, who gradually acquired the superior economic and social properties of the south and later served in the northern spread of the resulting culture-complex. There is evidence in this direction, both archeological and historical, pointing out that the Powhatan people were not

resident in the tidewater region for a very long period. Strachey, the most explicit author on Virginia ethnology, estimated in 1616, from what he had been told by the Powhatan, that the Indians had not been inhabitants below the falls of the James (the site of Richmond) for much more than three hundred years.<sup>1</sup> In a paper<sup>2</sup> published several years ago on one of the southeastern Algonkian remnants, the Machapunga, I presented an impression of the recency of the southward Algonkian migration into Virginia, and the conclusions reached now, after reviewing the whole field in more detail, support this view.

As a preface to the ensuing chapters on special topics of ethnology in early Virginia, the foregoing remarks appearing at the beginning of my report will serve to direct attention to what is evidently the key to an understanding of the relationship and distribution problems set before us by the peculiar developments which characterize the little-known tribes from Pennsylvania southward to the North Carolina line.

In preparing the treatment of the independent topics of ethnology based on practices and folk-knowledge surviving among the existing descend-

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<sup>1</sup> Strachey, Wm., *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, 1616, London, 1849, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Remnants of the Machapunga Indians of North Carolina, *Amer. Anthr.*, N.S., vol. XVIII, no. 2, pp. 275-276, 1916, and *The Ethnic Position of the Southeastern Algonkian*, *ibid.*, vol. XXVI, no. 2, 1924.

ants, I have chosen to deal first with the so-called Powhatan confederacy and the subject of government, then with the theme of the individual hunting territories, ever-present among the Algonkians who tenaciously cherish their hunting traditions, and to follow this by a description of economic properties, ceramics, and featherwork, the memory of which time has not been effaced among these antiquity-loving Virginians.

Whereas the bulk of the culture traits enumerated above stand on the records only by mention, the few of them for which description and discussion are permitted by their survival down to later times—some even within reach today—have been chosen for treatment here. There are various ways of regarding records like these as they come to our hands for perusal, but it should be obvious to one looking over these pages that their contribution is intended to deepen the existing knowledge of ethnic properties of a people early transformed from their original native estate by ruinous association with Europeans; also to place their culture group on the map of ethnological comparisons in the East—nothing more. In days to come, when living sources open for investigation are absolutely closed, the real intensive study of this area, once rich in development, will be made.

With the preceding suggestions in mind, let us turn to the account of protracted investigations among the Virginia tribes during the last ten years.



The task of trying to reconstruct Powhatan ethnology has indeed been like conjuring. There seems to be little on the surface, yet shadows of remote customs and modified survivals of old economic life persist. Then we are aided by some archeological examinations that are far from complete. Chiefly, however, we have to thank the early Virginia chronicles for much information covering not only native industrial life, but ceremonies as well. As to the present field, no one can say that it is exhausted. Many pleasant weeks have been passed consorting with the much-diluted Indian remnants of the tidewater country, yet each season creates a deeper feeling of respect for their loyal tenacity to their Indian traditions. This is responsible for the survival of many desirable facts hidden away in memory's closets. For the rest it has been inevitable that a people who have held their own territory for three centuries through three wars with Europeans covering at least thirty-two almost continuous years of that period, then subdued but not obliterated, should have something concerning their old life to offer to the interested and sympathetic investigator, provided he have patience enough to bear the slowness of the process.

The Powhatan culture area is one thing, the political area is another. Roughly speaking, the culture area, from the point of view of archeology and recorded ethnology, included that portion of eastern Virginia south of the Potomac river to about

the frontier of North Carolina, all the territory lying east of the Piedmont, or the fall-line, extending irregularly from Washington through Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg. Approximately on each of the great tidal rivers this western girdle of the Powhatan area was only a little above the tide-line. The Powhatan tribes, therefore, may be considered definitely as possessing a culture adapted to the tidal stretches of the coastal plain. They exhibit an illustration of Wissler's theory of altitudinal habitat, having of all the Algonkians the most extensively unelevated homeland. The same culture boundary included, from testimony given by Hariot and DeBry, the Algonkians of the North Carolina coast as far as Pamlico sound. On the eastern shore of Chesapeake bay, along the Accomac peninsula, dwelt the Accomac and Accohanoc, included under Powhatan rule as far north as the Maryland line. If subsequent archeological research establishes for this region a relationship closer to the Powhatan than to the Nanticoke northward, it may mean that the Accohanoc or Accomac did not migrate into the lower peninsula from its northern base, but that they crossed Chesapeake bay near the Virginia capes, tracing their expansion directly from the Powhatan units with which they remained in touch. Up to this point we have considered the boundary features of the culture group which became so well known as the Virginia or Powhatan confederacy.

It is evident that the surmises of ethnology are reasonable: that the Powhatan group bore close resemblance to the Conoy and the Nanticoke. And further, the culture connection is extendible in larger terms to the Delawares. Among the hall-marks of unity over the whole territory just noted were the practices of cleaning the bones of the bodies of chiefs and preserving their bodies or bones in houses consecrated to the purpose, the burial ossuaries, the cranial deformation, idol ceremonies directed to supernatural beings called *okee*, the new fire rite, scratching rite, and the emetic at harvest time in southern Virginia and in North Carolina, a priesthood-shaman order, and the monarchical form of government. Many technical and industrial traits showing forth in architecture, ceramics, basketry, clay pipes, the featherwork, the elements and utensils of maize, tobacco, and bean cultivation, indicate the southern environment. Relationship confronts us as a likelihood in other fields of activity, such as warfare, fishing, and hunting. Harrington records indications of Nanticoke influence upon Delaware religion.

For instance, the relative shortness of the hunting season, in contrast with intensity of agriculture, the deer-drive and the practice of using fire in driving game, the communal village hunt, in general all savor of the southeast. Certain fishing practices do also: the use of the basket-trap, killing fish by poisoning the streams with vegetal juices, and



shooting fish with an arrow tied to a line, all being customs attributed to the Virginia tribes in the past.

To the foregoing summary of Powhatan culture traits may be added some whose southern affinities are suggestively shown forth. These, to be sure, cannot be classified dogmatically until tests have been carried further. A very useful résumé of Virginia ethnology, based on seventeenth century sources, is given by Willoughby,<sup>1</sup> in which he considered a number of Virginia religious institutions to have been "adopted from the southern Indians."<sup>2</sup> We may add that a similar inference may be drawn from the occurrence of such characteristics in Virginia as the pot-drum used in dances: that is, a drum consisting of an earthen pot containing some water and covered with a piece of stretched hide, the "roached" hair fashion affected by men, the dressing of the hair among priests by shaving off all in front except a visor-like ridge across the forehead, the use of body decoration in the form of feathers stuck on the skin which has been coated with a sticky oil, wearing the dried head of an enemy, the weaving of feather mantles, garments of the "poncho" type, the absence of tailored garments, the moccasin of one piece of leather gathered in one long seam reaching from the toe to the instep, the "reed," the conical metal arrowhead of historic times, the

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<sup>1</sup> Willoughby, C. C., *The Virginia Indians in the Seventeenth Century*, *Amer. Anthr.*, N.S., vol. IX, no. 1, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

“sword” or club with small pieces of stone set like teeth along both edges, all remind the ethnologist of certain well-known far-southern culture traits. Such correspondences with the south would seem to provide reason for making a conclusion, in fact the main one arrived at, after going over the contents of the Powhatan culture area, namely, that we have a fairly recent migrant Algonkian group transformed extensively by association with a southeastern group.

#### PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE POWHATAN GROUP

I N the tidewater region of eastern Virginia there are at the present time some two thousand descendants of the tribes originally constituting the so-called Powhatan confederacy. Very little attention has been paid to them by writers, whether ethnologists, historians, or folklorists. Some indeed have even assumed to deny their existence under the implication of there being no longer pure-blood Indians among them. Elimination, however, on this ground would involve a maze of controversy, for it would mean that many existing Indian groups all over North, Central, and South America, maintaining active tribal tradition, even government, would be consigned to the anomaly of classification as “whites” or “colored people.” Nevertheless the Powhatan descendants persist within the confines of their ancient territory despite the efforts to crush

them that began in 1608, and which, after reaching a climax during Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, have continued to menace them, though with declining force, until the present time.

For the purpose of presenting certain facts to those who are interested in American folk-life and Indian survivals, I have prepared the following notes re-introducing the seven or eight "tribes" of descendants that now survive out of some thirty local groups originally forming Powhatan's "kingdom." Some of the groups have been already investigated by the writer for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, but for the whole region there is need of actual exploration of their industrial, social, and folkloristic properties. It will reveal much that will elucidate the principles of race- and culture-blending among American folk-communities.

#### PAMUNKEY

Of the remnant tribes in Virginia, the Pamunkey have long formed the social backbone. They have retained their internal government, their social tradition and geographical position as the people of Powhatan. Their village is one mile from the station of Lester Manor, about twenty miles east of Richmond. It comprises an area of some three hundred acres almost surrounded by a curve of the Pamunkey river. Much of it is a virgin swamp which constitutes the tribal hunting ground (fig. 50). As their village was the capital in Indian days, the

Pamunkey under Powhatan figured most prominently in the events connected with the founding of Jamestown and the explorations by Captain John Smith. Even after the disastrous but inevitable wars of 1622 and 1644 in which the Powhatan tribes were cut to pieces by English gunpowder and steel, the Pamunkey still preserved their integrity as a tribe and exacted a deed for their reservation from the Virginia assembly in 1677.

This treaty is recorded in the Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia. The present chief and council retain a copy of it, which is quoted in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. v, pp. 189-195). It explicitly mentions the rights of the Indians, permitting "oystering, fishing, gathering tuckahoe, *curtenemmons*,<sup>1</sup> wild oats, rushes, and *puckwone*." The treaty also alludes to the return of white children and slaves among the Indians and forbids any further enslavement of Indians. There are known to have been subsequent records of dealings with the Indians preserved in the archives of King William Court House; but these were destroyed at the time when, during the Civil War, the court house was burned by the Northern troops and the records in the clerk's office lost.

Thus having secured a home right to reside in

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<sup>1</sup> The term *curtenemmons* refers to the dock-plant growing on the river. In Chickahominy the word is *cutlemon*, an interesting dialectic variation, if the word is not perchance a derivation from English "cut-lemon," which the pod actually resembles.



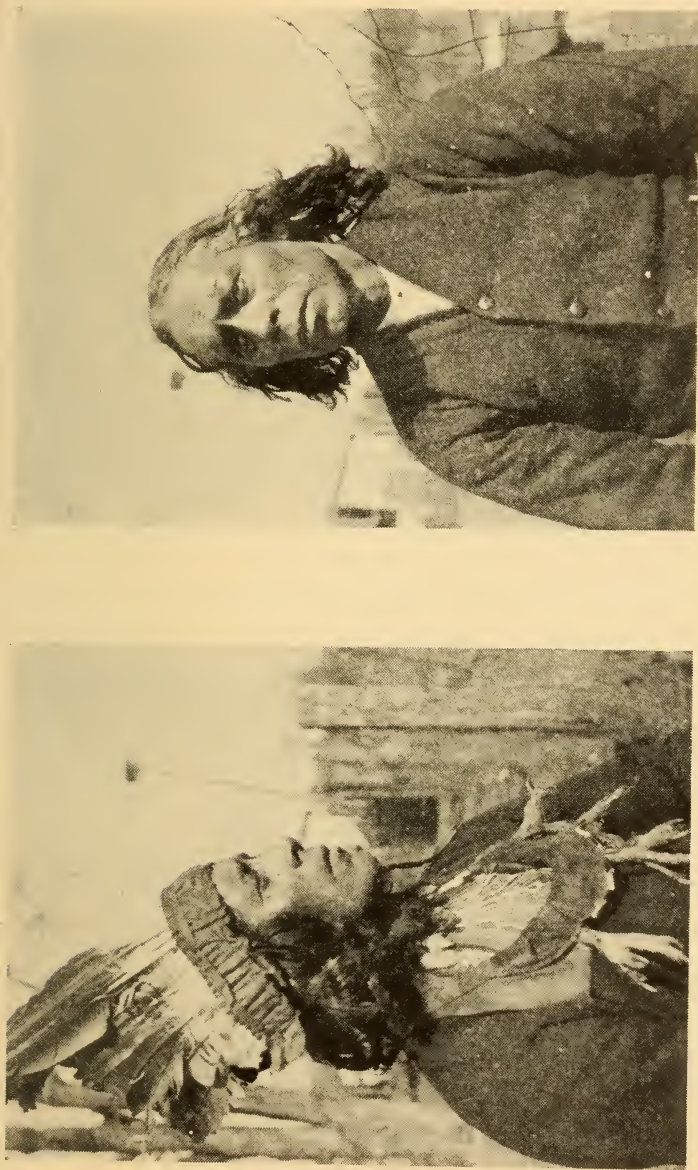


FIG. 1.—Chief George M. Cook, Pamunkey. The typical headdress has eagle-feathers and the neck ornament consists of eagle-talons, emblems of "royalty."



FIG. 2.—Ottigny Cook, son of Chief Cook, Pamunkey.





FIG. 3.—Captola Cook, Pamunkey.

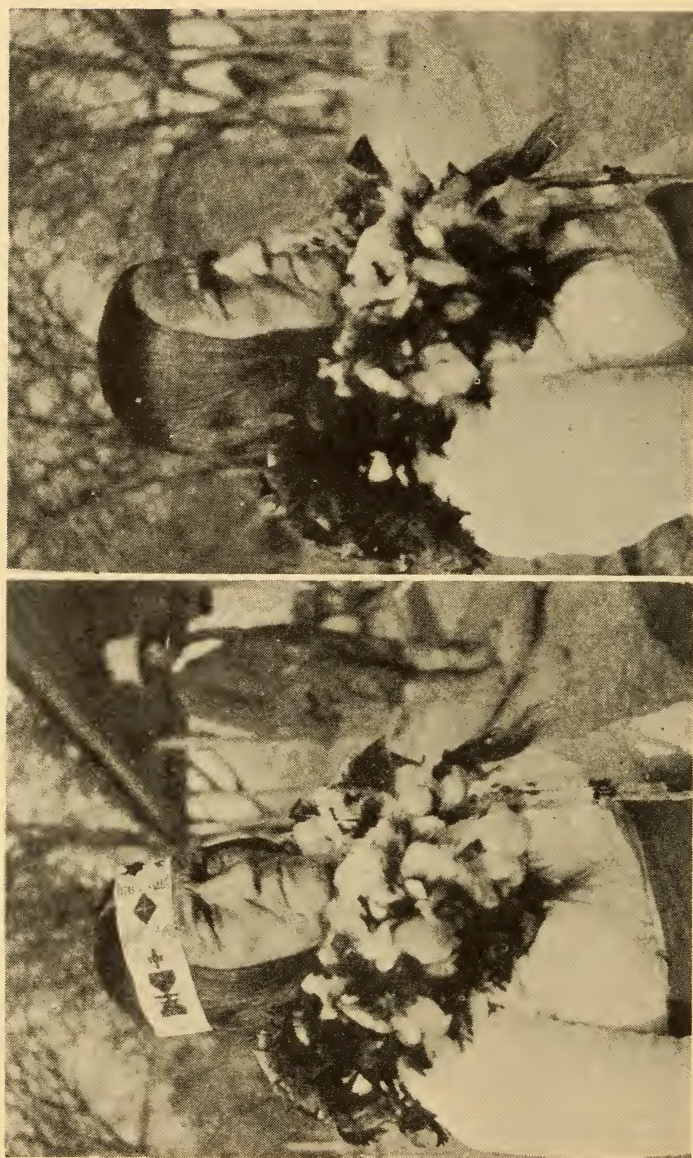


FIG. 4.—Mrs. Dora Cook Pamunkey type. The cape is woven of wild turkey and duck feathers.





FIG. 5.—Chief William Terrill Bradby, Pamunkey.  
(Photo. by Bureau of American Ethnology.)



FIG. 6.—Group of Pamunkey of a generation ago in dance costume. (Photo. by Bureau of American Ethnology.)





FIG. 7.—Tecumseh Cook (son of the chief) and Union Collins, Pamunkey types.



<sup>a</sup>  
FIG. 8.—Types of Pamunkey men. (<sup>b</sup> is George Cook, Jr.)





FIG. 9.—Nannie Miles and Mrs. Allmond, types of Pamunkey women.



FIG. 10.—Pocahontas and Captola Cook, Pamunkey types.

their old domains, the tribe settled down under its own rulership, where it may still be found. The reservation population has for a considerable time approximated 150 souls. The Indians on the Mattaponi river, only about ten miles from the Pamunkey, appear to have been closely affiliated with the Pamunkey, and the recent history of the two bands has been practically identical. There are about 75 in the Mattaponi village near Wakema; they are completely merged in blood with the Pamunkey, through inter-

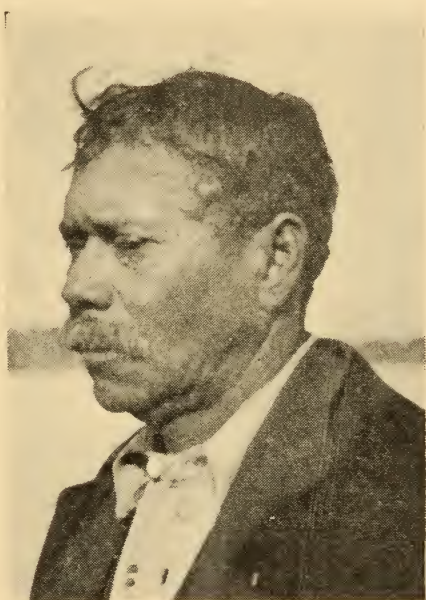


FIG. 11.—Jim Bradby, Pamunkey.

marriage, and no differences in community life can be observed between them. The Mattaponi are also reservation Indians; their deed, in the possession of the chief, dates also to 1658. The two preceding bands are the only "reserved Indians," as they quaintly style themselves, in the state. Types of the group appear in figs. 1-14.

The interesting band of Pamunkey Indian



descendants has been persistently ignored by serious investigators for reasons which are obvious but not good. Dwelling on their own land continuously



FIG. 12.—Pamunkey hunter with skin of an otter just killed.

since their complete defeat about 1676, the remnants have kept up their tribal organization and to a degree their economic life without interruption or interference, although they have lost entirely their language, their social and ceremonial culture. The little group has numbered about 150

souls for many years without much change, as mentioned. Had they, however, been able to keep together without the



young men having to emigrate to the cities to find employment, the number would now be much larger. Many have married outside of the tribe and moved away, for Pamunkey law allows a man of the tribe to bring his alien wife to the reservation, but a girl who marries an outsider has to depart and reside off the reservation. Moreover, any Pamunkey individuals who leave the town for two years without returning, be it only for a short time, forfeit their privileges as tribal members. Hence the Pamunkey, like the other surviving units of Virginia, are not dying out, but being absorbed in the general population. Such a process is for sentimental reasons unfortunate, but it is inevitable.

The loss of the native language among all the Virginia remnants has been complete. Save for half a dozen words or so, mostly names of local flora and fauna, nothing remains. This situation is comparable to cases elsewhere in the East, such as that



FIG. 13.—Bob Miles, Pamunkey.

of the Huron of Lorette, Province of Quebec, whose tongue has succumbed to French; the Algonkian remnants in southern New England, and the Catawba of South Carolina, all of whom now speak



FIG. 14.—Paul Miles, Pamunkey, in dance costume.

only English. One might be inclined to suspect that such a condition is associated in some way with negroid miscegenation were it not for the instance of the Huron-Iroquois of Quebec, whose mixture has been almost exclusively with the French. The only linguistic material we now possess, and this is only in glossaries except for half a dozen short sentences, is to be found in Smith's narrative and in Strachey's History of Virginia. Since those times only some isolated words of question-

able origin have been recorded from the Pamunkey by Dalrymple and from Nansamond by Mooney. At Chickahominy a short list of terms was given me

several years ago. Most of them, however, proved to be Ojibwa.

Among the Pamunkey a few native practices of great interest have been preserved from the past. They distribute their time between farming, fishing, and hunting. They raise the original native crops, they haul seine and trawl lines, and pursue deer, raccoons, and wild turkeys and other wild fowl on their famous river, and maintain their hunting territories for the taking of fur and meat in the primeval swamp forming part of their reservation. Native snares and dead-fall traps still compete with modern methods of taking game. Only within the last twenty years have the hunters abandoned the use of the log dugout pirogue, though one may still be seen.

Of native arts the Pamunkey have preserved the manufacture of their distinctive clay pots and pipes, and have even preserved that egregious technique, turkey-feather knitting, as well as declining phases of basketry and bead-working. And tribal government continues. Some dances and costume performances of a social and carnival character are part of their tradition. I have prepared an account of these properties of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi which is waiting its call to appear in print.

## MATTAPONI

For good reasons the Mattaponi<sup>1</sup> may be classified definitely as a branch of the Pamunkey. They have not only an absolutely identical cultural foundation, but are a member of the same original political body divided from the main body by a distance of ten miles, and occupying land which was evidently a portion of the original tract reserved under the name of Pamunkey reservation. Their present reservation of almost 75 acres is on the south bank of the Mattaponi river, near the hamlet of Wakema. Their own settlement is called Indian Town (fig. 25). It is a compact picturesque village of whitewashed houses on a high bluff above the river and commands a fine view. Types of the group appear in figs. 15-24.

There is a tradition at Pamunkey that the land intervening between the two reservations was sold for a barrel of rum. Mrs. Page, who in 1920 was 83 years of age, said that this was the understanding among the people of her generation. She was born at Mattaponi and asserts that Billy Major, her mother's father, who died about 1845, could speak Indian. At Pamunkey there were at the time several in the families of Mush and Gunns who, it is claimed, knew the language.

The Mattaponi records in existence comprise a deed, according to Chief Custalow, referred to in a letter from L. C. Garnett, Assistant Attorney

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<sup>1</sup>The accent is on the *i*, pronounced as *ai* in *aisle*.





FIG. 15.—Lee Major, Mattaponi, wearing native hat made of duck-skins. (*Photo. by Warfield.*)

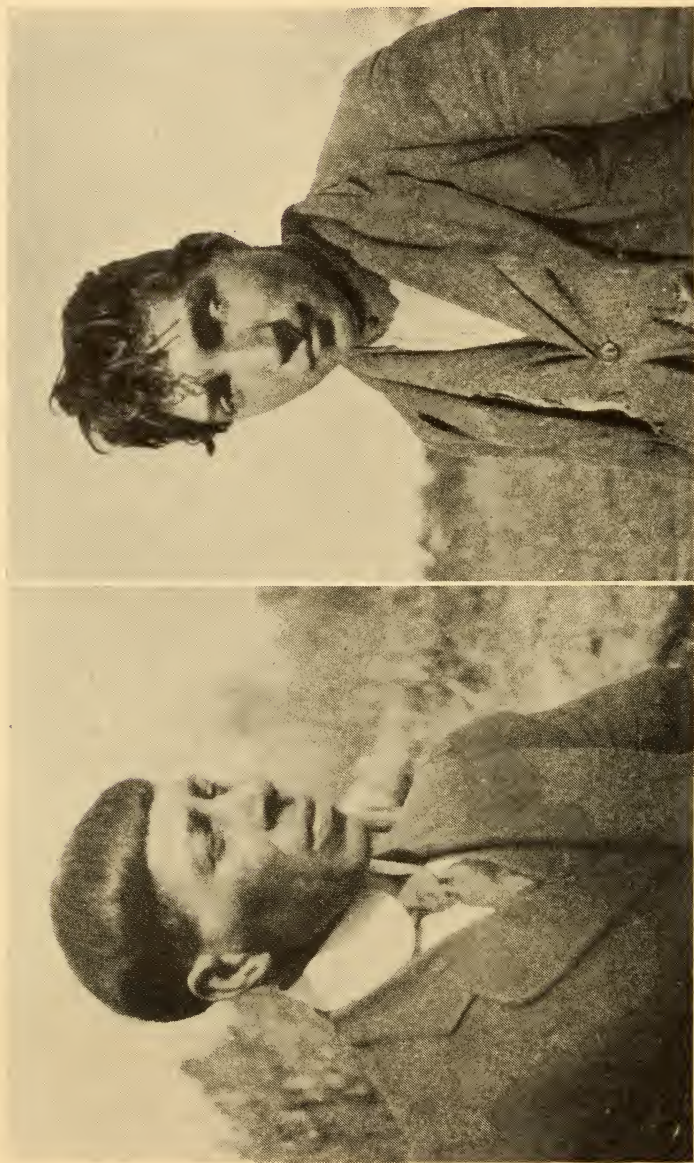


FIG. 16.—Maguire Langston and Ioway Collins, Mattaponi types.





*a* *b*  
FIG. 17.—Mattaponi men. (*b* is Powhatan Major.)

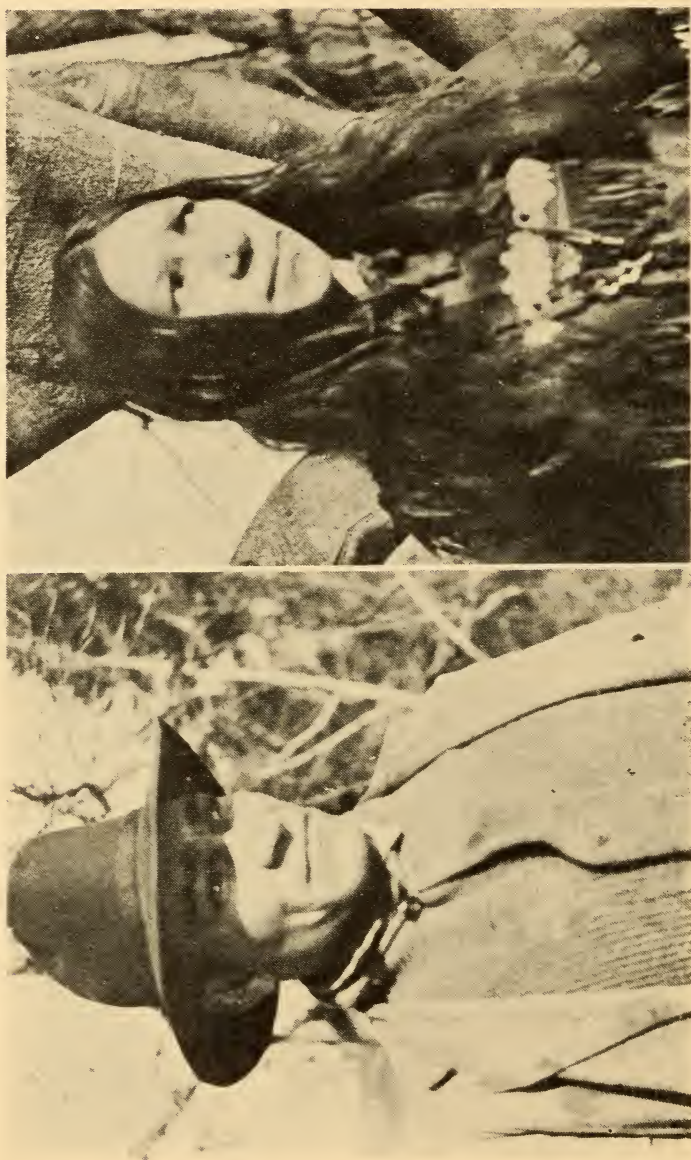


FIG. 18.—Mantey Langston and Mary Langston, Mattaponi types.



General, June 26, 1916. Through this instrument the Mattaponi lands were confirmed to the Indians in 1658, it is stated in the letter, by the Governor, Assembly of Virginia, Indian, Colonial and State Laws.

Thomas Jefferson made several remarks concerning the Pamunkey and the Mattaponi, one being that there were

none of pure blood living in his time, 1781, and that the language had disappeared.

His records, however, bear indication of being neither extremely accurate nor carefully considered, even from the historical point

of view. It is doubtful whether he had an opportunity to do more than observe some of the natives at long range.

The Mattaponi have not been conspicuous in literature. Pollard<sup>1</sup> in 1894 quoted Dr. A. S. Gat-



FIG. 19.—Mattaponi woman.

<sup>1</sup> Pollard, J. G., *The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia*, *Bull. 17, Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, Washington, 1894.



FIG. 20.—Mollie Adams, Upper Mattaponi, and Nanny (Tuppins) Major, Mattaponi.

schet as saying there were 35 or 40 Indians there. He also believed that they were a branch of the Pamunkey.

In 1907 Mooney<sup>1</sup> took a census of the members of the band in his Powhatan survey, enumerating



FIG. 21.—Mattaponi man and Chickahominy wife and children.

40 souls and the following family names: Allmond, Collins, Custello (Costello), Langston, Major, Ried, and Tuppins. But now by birth and migration they have increased to about 75. Mooney's remarks

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<sup>1</sup> Mooney, James, *The Powhatan Confederacy Past and Present*, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. ix, no. 1, 1907.



concerning their condition and their occupations hold true today as well as then. The community is less in touch with the outside world than the Pamunkey, and so exhibits a somewhat more rural aspect of culture than the other groups, excepting perhaps that at Adamstown. There is much

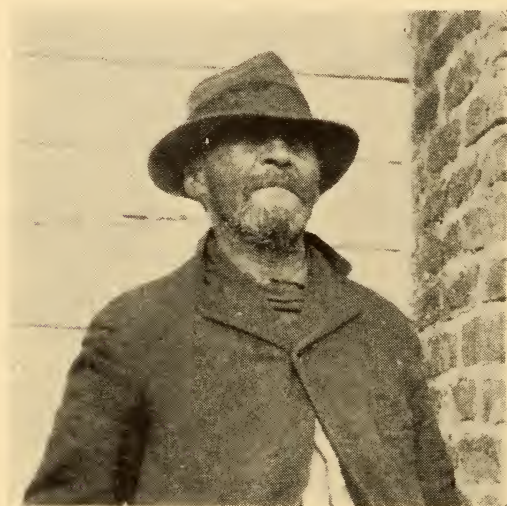


FIG. 22.—John Langston, Mattaponi.

intercourse between the Mattaponi and Pamunkey, several of the families having a common origin.

The question of priority is rather interesting here. The original families, that is to say those Mattaponi

whose members have not resided off the reservation, have dwindled to two individuals according to the assertion of these two themselves, namely, Nanny Tuppins and Powhatan Major (figs. 17, *b*; 20, *b*). The assertion is validated by tradition, for it seems that the population consists for the rest of descendants of the adopted Pamunkey families and, what is more interesting, several Indians from the Powhatan



groups lower down toward the bay. Among them, for instance, the ancestor of the Allmonds is known to have been a native of the band of Powhatan in Gloucester county. The grandfather of this family came from near Gloucester Point on York river, nearly opposite Yorktown. Descendants of this band are said to be still on the spot and to have a separate school. I have not, however, visited them to verify the statement.



FIG. 23.—Mattaponi girls.

#### ADAMSTOWN OR UPPER MATTAPONI BAND

One of the most important of the hitherto little known and unrecognized bands resides below Aylett's landing, south of Mattaponi river, about a mile inland. The district is called Adamstown from

the large number of the Adams family (fig. 20, *a*). They are citizens and have independent holdings near a large swamp which harbors considerable small game. On Captain John Smith's map of 1612 their location corresponds correctly with a village marked



FIG. 24.—Mattaponi boys.

on his chart as Passaunhick. Archeological surface surveys in the neighborhood evidence an extended and numerous original population, and the Indian blood of the inhabitants, their Indian tradition of descent, and consciousness of their Powhatan affiliation, leave little room for doubt that this group of about 75 individuals exhibits what is left of the tribe

belonging on the upper Mattaponi river. For this reason I have chosen, after consultation with Mooney and Chief Cook, to refer to them henceforth as the Upper Mattaponi band. It should be noted, however, that even the oldest among them know of no specific name ever being applied to them, save that of Adamstown Indians. Even before the Civil War they were free. There is no remembrance of slavery,



FIG. 25.—Part of the Mattaponi Indian town seen from the river.

nor could we find any evidence of the people here having been "owned" during slave days, either in local records or among the old white inhabitants whose recollection extended back to ante-bellum days. There is little more that can be said concerning the history of this small group. Yet considerable folklore and fragmentary ethnological information remain to be harvested. During Mooney's contact with the Powhatan enclaves he frequently

had occasion to think of the Adamstown people, and in 1907 he noted their existence in the following terms, referring to the detached bands of Powhatan origin scattered through the tidewater counties:

What seems to be the largest of these, according to Pamunkey information, resides on Mattapony river, about Aylett postoffice in upper King William county, the principal family names being Adams and Holmes. They are said to number about 40 in all, and to be in a very backward condition as compared with the Pamunkey, with whom they have little communication, although sometimes visiting the Mattapony.<sup>1</sup>

Having been recognized for many years as Indians by the state school authorities, the Adamstown people have always been allowed a separate school. At present (1923) they are effecting an Indian organization like the other awakening Powhatan divisions.<sup>2</sup>

Through Jasper Adams, one of their leaders, the following list of families is given as representing those considered eligible for membership in the organization. It represents their present numerical strength. Of a total number of 77 persons, more than three-fourths bear the name of Adams, other family names being Hincer, Mills, Dundjie, and Acree. They claim that formerly the Adams family had the name Holmes, that a white man named Adams, just before the Civil War period, settled

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<sup>1</sup> Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Their organization was effected on July 4, 1923, with an enrollment of 77, under Jasper Adams as chief.



with the band and gave his name and identity to most of the members. Joe Adams, who died in 1920, at an age of about 78, is thought to have been capable of pronouncing some native Indian words. This old man wore his hair long enough to reach his shoulders, one of the marks of identity in the region by which the Indian descendants distinguish themselves from negroes and mulattoes.

It might be added by way of a suggestion as to their original identity that the Adamstown tribe may represent descendants of the Nantaughtacund unit of Smith's time, as Mooney thought of the Rappahannock, to whom the Adamstown people are partly related.

#### CHICKAHOMINY

On both shores of Chickahominy river, from its mouth to White Oak swamp where its waters rise, lived the Chickahominy tribe in apparently the most populated section of the Powhatan area (figs. 51, 69). Their descendants (figs. 26-36) occupy the same region, though they have no reservation. The Chickahominy headquarters, their first school and church, are at Samaria, a few miles from Roxbury in Charles City county. Recently some families have moved eastward toward the lower river, where the fishing is better, to the vicinity of Windsor Shades or Boulevard. Another Chickahominy church has been founded at the latter place and a school established.

This tribe offers a problem in its political and social



FIG. 26.—William H. Adkins, Chickahominy chief (died 1921).  
(*Photo. by Bureau of American Ethnology.*)



FIG. 27.—Chief O. W. Adkins, Chickahominy. (*Photo. by Bachrach, 1923.*)

aspects, which seem to have been somewhat different from those of the Pamunkey. That they were not completely unified with Powhatan, we have occa-



sional testimony. Mooney<sup>1</sup> summarizes the situation briefly: "The powerful Chickahominy, however, although accepting him [Powhatan] as overlord maintained their own home rule, and took an

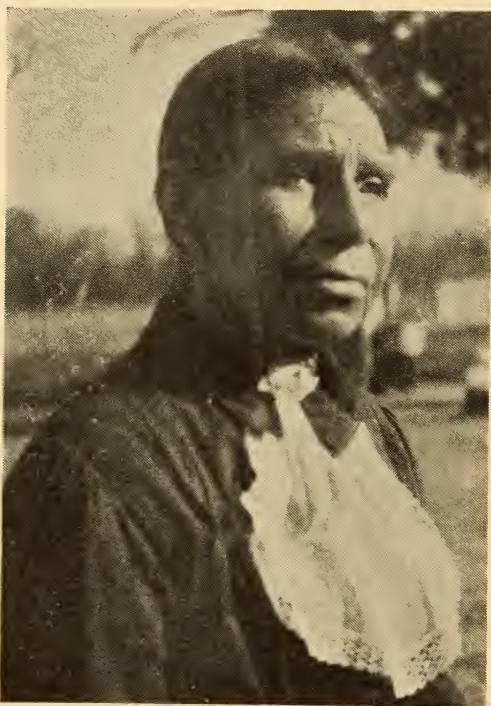


FIG. 28.—Mrs. Thomas Adkins, Chickahominy woman.

opportunity to put themselves under the protection of the English."

Strachey adds that this group formed a nation so remote from being Powhatan's subjects that they were even his enemies. Again he describes them as a warlike and free people who paid tribute to Powhatan but who would not allow them-

selves to be governed by any "wirowances" (chiefs) from him.

In 1613 they went so far as to renounce their

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 136.



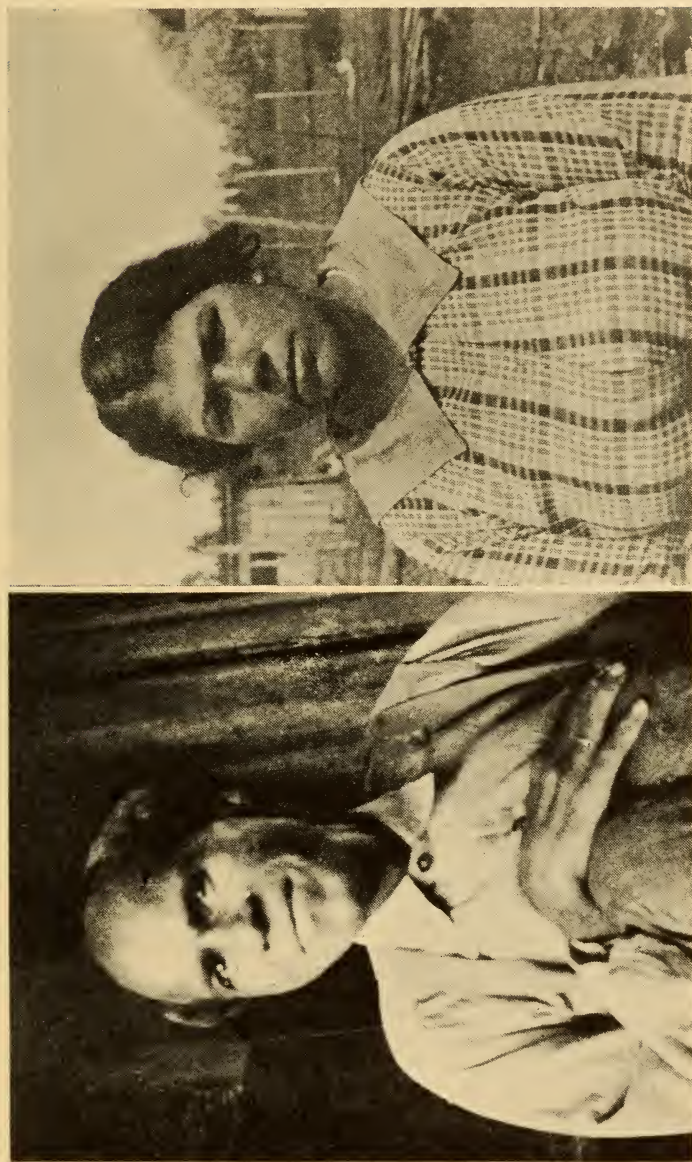


FIG. 29.—Jared Adkins and Maggie Adkins, Chickahominy types.



FIG. 30.—Robert Bradby, Chickahominy of Windsor Shades, Va.

allegiance to Powhatan, and appealed to the English, whom they called Tassautessus Uttasantasough, "shirt wearer," to allow them to use that name for themselves, as a sign



FIG. 31.—Chickahominy girls.



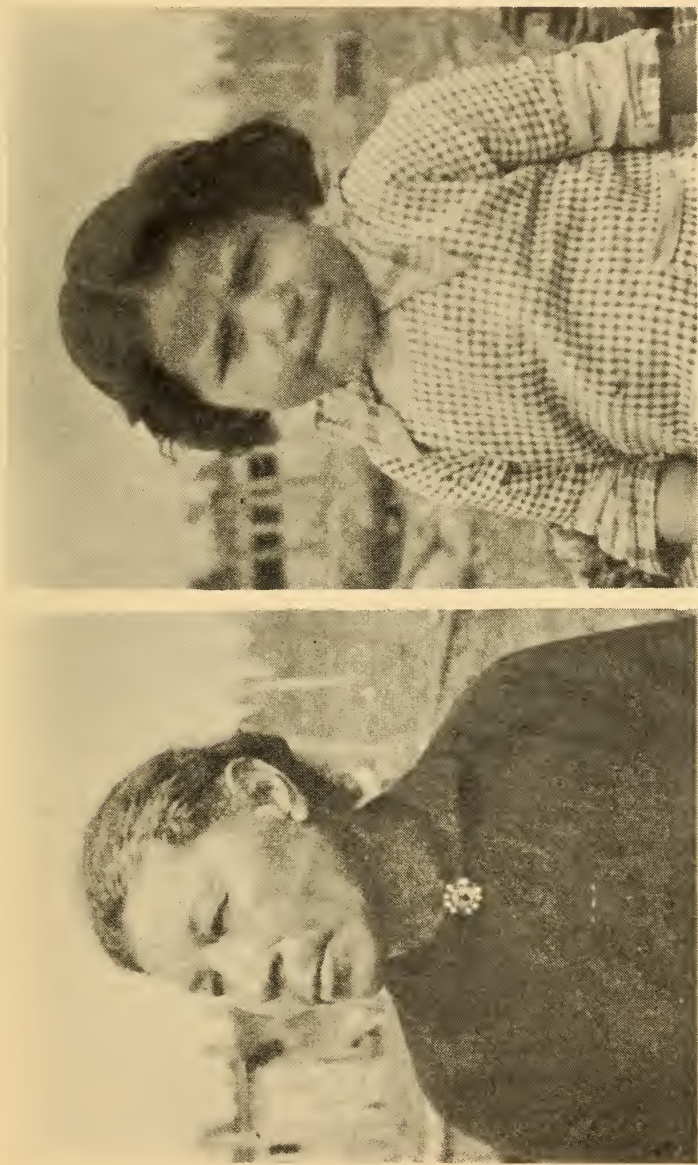


FIG. 32.—Chickahominy woman and girl.



FIG. 33.—Powhatan Bradby, Chickahominy boy of Windsor Shades, Va.



of affiliation.<sup>1</sup> We also learn from Smith<sup>2</sup> that the Chickahominy were governed by a body of priests and eight elders, and that their headman was called *mangoap* (which I venture to analyze as "great man": *mango*, great, *-ap* (*-ape*), man)



FIG. 34.—Chickahominy children, with native splint basket.

in contrast to the Powhatan proper who employed the term *wirowance* (probably meaning "he is rich") for their chiefs.<sup>3</sup> A number of other points

<sup>1</sup> Smith's account of Virginia in Tyler, L. G., *Narratives of Early Virginia*, New York, 1907, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Strachey, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

of minor differentiation might be mentioned, one being that the several Pamunkey native names of tribes are not known here. On the basis of the slight culture differentiation I have marked on the chart by a shaded line the Chickahominy apart from the

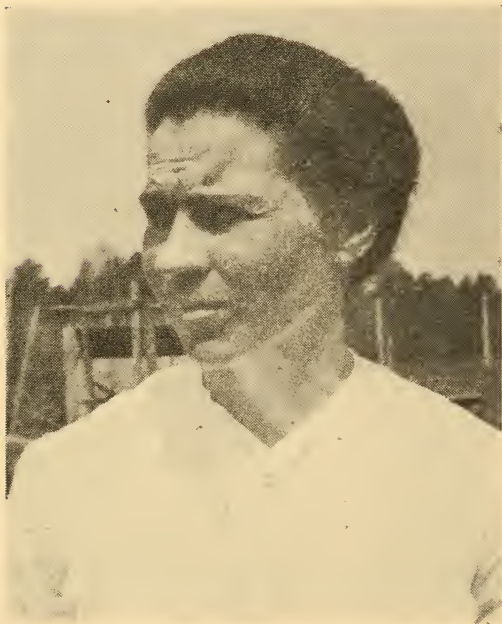


FIG. 35.—Chickahominy woman.

Powhatan proper. The Chickahominy still offer a field of investigation. A number of economic survivals and much folklore are accumulating as the basis for a monograph on the tribe. Some words supposed to be a relic of the language

have also been obtained to show that the Chickahominy have been about the most conservative of the Virginia bands.

Mooney, in 1907, published the following list of family names of this tribe which does not need much alteration: Adkins, Bradby, Canada, Cotman,

Stewart, Holmes, Jefferson, Jones, Miles, Swett, Thompson, Wynne. They numbered 220 at that time. In the following year the Chickahominy



FIG. 36.—Mrs. W. A. Bradby, Chickahominy.

effected a citizen Indian organization under William H. Adkins, and have since continued it to their advantage, strengthening their position and numbers

as well as their tribal consciousness. In 1923 they numbered about 264, including the enrolled members of the Chickahominy tribe, under Chief O.W. Adkins. There are, however, 200 others, at least, whose claim of descent is valid but who have not formally annexed themselves to the tribal organization. In Strachey's time they were estimated at 300, probably including only men. Their struggle to maintain social independence has been intense during the last twenty years. They were even threatened with violence by their neighbors. It would all furnish material for an interesting chapter on contemporary Virginia social development. With the Pamunkey there has been some intermarriage, but no political affiliation.

#### NANSAMOND

The largest group of descendants of the more southerly Powhatan tribes is that which comprises the Nansamond. They reside at Portsmouth, Bowers Hill, near Suffolk, and in general about Dismal Swamp. Their name has hardly disappeared from the pages of history for more than a few years at a time. Captain John Smith gave them a place of prominence in his narrative, and a number of entries since his day in literature connect them closely with the past. In the last century they have lapsed in numbers and strength through mixture and dispersion, yet the number of those considered as Nansamond descendants must be about 200,



according to J. L. Bass, their present chief. From William W. Weaver and Mr. Bass in 1907 Mooney recorded some information which he published.<sup>1</sup> He noted that the men were mostly engaged in truck-farming and as sailors, and that they numbered about 180.

According to most recent information, in March 1923, the descendants organized a Nansamond Indian Association with 58 enrolled members to coöperate with the other organized bodies of Indians in the state. Their principal fam-

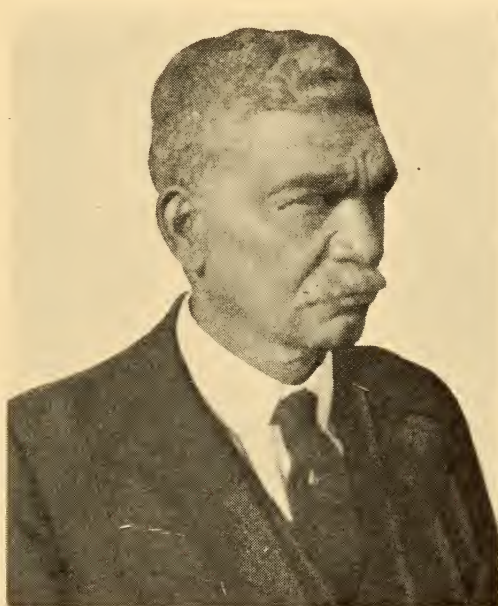


FIG. 37.—Augustus A. Bass, Nansamond.

ily names are Bass (fig. 37) and Weaver, from whom are descended others: Bateman, Bond, Brady, Bright, Cable, Collins, Craigins, Gaylord, Gray, Green, Harmon, Holloway, Howard, Jones, Okay, Osborn,

<sup>1</sup> Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

Porter, Price, Rowland, Sawyer, Scott, Sebastian, Simcoe, White, Wilkins, and Williams.

I might add that a detailed study of the Nansamond is to be awaited with some interest. Until this is made one can only entertain a suspicion of the likelihood of some ethnological divergence from the Pamunkey and Mattaponi pattern, since the Nansamond are on the border of the North Carolina coast Algonkian sub-area.

It may not be out of place to note that among the ethnological survivals here to be investigated the Nansamond preserve interesting information on bear-hunting, which is still pursued in Dismal Swamp, and wolf-trapping, of which tradition has something to reveal. They also offer the usual amount of surviving agricultural lore, and some other topics under material culture, connected with hunting, fishing, and the use of dugout canoes. The latter are still to be found in their possession.

#### RAPPAHANNOCK

The northern divisions of the Confederacy are represented by descendants on Potomac creek in King George county, also in Wicomico county and by a fairly large body scattered through parts of Essex and King and Queen counties. The latter living south of Rappahannock river were considered by Mooney to be, in all probability, the remnant of the Nantaughtacund tribe; but they now bear the name Rappahannock (figs. 38, 39). It is possible

that there are as many as 500 of this classification, though in 1923 the number forming the body known as the Rappahannock Indian Association embraced only some 200 who were carrying over the name and tradition of the old tribe. They were led by Chief George L. Nelson, who was very active in matters of Indian reconstruction in Virginia. Prior to their renaissance they were not prominent in colonial literature. The Rappahannock unit shows evidence of slight divergence in custom from



FIG. 38.—George L. Nelson, chief of the Rappahannock and of the reorganized Powhatan Confederacy (1923).

the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, with whom there has been hitherto only an irregular contact. It is quite unnecessary in this place to give further de-

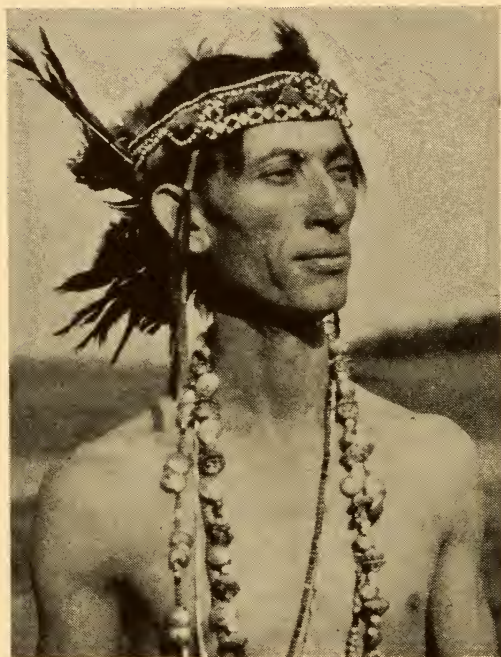


FIG. 39.—R. H. Clark, Rappahannock.

tails of the results of research in the history and ethnology of this community as the subject is treated in a separate memoir.<sup>1</sup>

#### POTOMAC

A small group of families, whose names are mostly Newton and Green (figs. 40, 41),

represent what may be the residue of the Indians who are recorded to have inhabited Potomac creek, an affluent of Potomac river, about eight miles north of Fredericksburg in Stafford county. We have not, however, clear proof that these descendants are actually of Potomac identity, although they now bear the name. They are not organized definitely, nor are their numbers

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<sup>1</sup> Speck, F. G., *The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia, Indian Notes and Monographs*, vol. v, no. 3, 1925.



known, except for a rough estimate which would put them at about 150. Like most of the tidewater bands, they are engaged chiefly in fishing. Hunting has been discontinued only within the last twenty-



FIG. 40.—Luther Newton of the Potomac band.



FIG. 41.—Girls of the Potomac band.

five years by some of them who followed it as a profession. At present the Potomac group still remains unstudied. As usual, considerable folklore and some ethnological survivals may be expected to reward the labor of the patient investigator.

An interesting legend is related by the

older people. A version from the lips of Luther Newton, one of the more prominent men of the band, is as follows:

One of the sons of Sir Isaac Newton was disowned by his father for social misdeeds. In consequence of his disgrace the young man came to America to seek his fortune. While passing through the newly-formed settlements in Virginia, one day he found himself obliged to seek shelter and food at the home of a planter on the edge of the forest. As he rode his horse to the plantation gate a pretty little Indian girl moved forward, opened the gate, and held it for him to pass by. Struck by her beauty, he leaned forward, took a "piece of gold money" from his wallet, and handed it to her, saying that some day he would come back and marry her. He then passed on his way. A few years later he found himself back in the same district and approaching the gate where this event had taken place. The Indian girl, now grown to young womanhood, was before him again in the yard of the plantation. She took from her dress the "piece of gold money," and showing it to him reminded him of his promise. Thereupon he married her, and thus he became the ancestor of the Newtons of Indian blood and their relatives and descendants.

This event was said to have taken place in Orange county, where the informant, to prove his story, asserts that a plot of land belonging to his ancestor still remains unsettled as to title.

Several other bands of Powhatan descendants are waiting to be explored, about whom we now know practically nothing more than the mere fact of their location and family names. Some of them still have

independent schools and do not associate with colored people in school or church. Most numerous of these groups so far known, but unvisited by ethnological investigators, is that division residing in what is called

the "Northern Neck" between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. Chief Nelson of the Rappahannock imagines that there may be 500 individuals in this region and that their life is marked by some interesting economic conservatisms.

They would be descendants of the Wicomico.

The other group on York river is reported to inhabit the neighborhood of Gloucester Wharf in Gloucester county. The principal family names are said to be Allmond, Morris, and Langston. In fact their settlement bears the sobriquet of Allmondsville. Their actual identity is uncertain, though



FIG. 42.—Mollie Bladen, Accomack woman.

their location would correspond to that of the Werowocomoco. The Allmonds of Mattaponi are regarded as of this derivation.

If we now recapitulate, the estimated results for 1923 given me by the various chiefs show the population of the Powhatan descendants in Virginia to be as follows:

Tribe	Descendants	When organized	Number enrolled
Pamunkey.....	300	Tribal, on reservation (1677)	125 (?)
Mattaponi .....	75	" (1658)	75 (?)
Chickahominy ..	400 +	1908	264
Rappahannock..	500 +	1921	376
Nansamond.....	200 +	1923	58
Upper Mattaponi (Adams-town).....	78 +	1923	78
Wicomico (?)...	300 + (?)		
Potomac.....	150 +		
Hanover County	15 +		
Werowocomoco .	100 + (?)		
	<hr/> 2118 +		

## THE POWHATAN CONFEDERACY

In dealing with the political life of the eastern Virginia tribes one must attempt first an abridgment of the voluminous details which have long been published concerning the Powhatan Confederacy. Treatment has suffered from the disadvantage of having been brought out in chronicles and papers not accessible between one pair of covers to the general reader. The essential facts, however,



bearing on the history and composition of this interesting Algonkian monarchy were assembled by Mooney in 1907.<sup>1</sup> From his summary it appears that the tribes of this group, which has been appropriately called the Powhatan group, held about 8,000 square miles, or one-fifth of the area of the State of Virginia—in fact the whole tidewater section.

Their western boundary was about the geologic break-line marked by the falls of the principal rivers at Great Falls on the Potomac, Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock, Richmond on the James, and Petersburg on the Appomattox, and thence following the Blackwater divide by Suffolk to the coast. Strachey, indeed, if not also Smith, makes Powhatan's dominion extend to the head of Chesapeake Bay, but there is abundant evidence in the early records that the Maryland tribes were enemies to those of Virginia and held themselves independent. Those on the eastern shore of Virginia also seem to have been practically independent, as might have been inferred from the wide interval of water by which they were separated from the others; but as they spoke the Powhatan language and were within the Virginia jurisdiction, we may consider them with the Powhatan Confederacy.

The twenty-eight Powhatan tribes enumerated in detail by Smith as existing in 1607, numbered, according to his estimate, about 2,385 fighting men; but as he omits from this count the people of Warraskoyac and of several other "king's houses" or tribal capitals indicated on his map, we are probably justified in making it around 2,500. Strachey, writing about 1616, makes it 3,320, but some of his figures are plainly too high. Taking the lower estimate

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<sup>1</sup> Mooney, James, *The Powhatan Confederacy Past and Present*, *American Anthropologist*, vol. ix, 1907.

we should have, on a reasonable calculation, a total population for the confederacy of about 8,500, or about one inhabitant to the square mile.<sup>1</sup>

Back of the Powhatan were other tribes of alien lineage and hostile to the tidewater people. On the upper Rapahannock were the confederated Mannahoac, and on the upper James the confederated Monacan, both apparently of Siouan stock and of ruder culture than the Powhatan. Southwest were the Nottoway and Meherrin of Iroquoian stock on the rivers of those names, and on intimate terms with the kindred Tuscarora of North Carolina. Farther toward the southwest, on the upper waters of the Roanoke, were the Occaneechi, probably also of Siouan stock. Beyond them in the mountains about upper New river were the Mohetan, or Mocketan, for whom we seem to have but a single authority, of date 1671. The Richahecrian, or Rickohockan, who came down from the mountains in 1656 and made bloody invasion of the lowlands, appear to be identical with the Cherokee,<sup>2</sup> and can not fairly be considered a Virginia people.<sup>3</sup>

Following Jefferson, it is commonly said that the Powhatan Confederacy consisted of 30 tribes. This is approximate, but not exact. Smith (1607), our first and principal authority, names 28 tribes, giving the fighting strength of each in his text but indicates on his map 36 "king's houses," or tribal capitals. The whole number of villages, large and small, within the territory of the confederacy,

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting side-light is thrown on the question of Indian population in eastern Virginia by an estimate in 1650 of 30,000 natives, one-fourth of whom were men, in that part of the colony lying south of Cape Henry. Cf. Peter Force's *Tracts*, vol. III, no. XI, by E. W. (possibly Williams), London.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected to Yuchi by the findings of Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, *Bull.* 73, *Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-131.

as shown on the map, is 161. A manuscript authority of 1622 says that the confederacy comprised "32 Kingdomes." Strachey, about 1616, gives a list of 32 chief jurisdictions, of which only about half are identifiable with those of Smith's list. He assigns, however, two chiefs to the Appamattock, four to the Nansamond, and three to the Pamunkey, thus reducing the number of distinct tribes to 26. The census of 1669, by which time the natives had been wasted by more than half a century of almost constant warfare, has the names of only 11 of the Powhatan tribes noted by Smith, together with five others apparently resulting from shifting and new combinations of the broken remnants. In 1705, according to Beverley, there remained only six settlements in existence on the mainland and nine on the Eastern shore, besides a few scattered individuals, the whole numbering together some 350 men, or perhaps 1,170 in all. Thus within a single century the formidable Powhatan Confederacy had wasted to about one-seventh of its original strength.

This result had been brought about by three Indian wars—in 1622, 1644, and 1675—together with constant killings and destructions on a smaller scale; by a system of clearances and man hunts inaugurated in 1644 and continued for some years; by smallpox and other epidemics; and by the general demoralization resulting from subjection to the conquering race.

Following is the statement of the Powhatan population in fighting men, for the first century of colonization, as given by Smith in 1607, Strachey about 1616, the Virginia census of 1669, and Beverley in 1705. The discrepancy in the names of the various lists is probably due to the progressive combination of broken tribes under new names, the abandonment of old sites, and the occupancy of new villages.

# 290 ETHNOLOGY OF THE

	SMITH 1607	STRACHEY 1616	CENSUS 1669	BEVERLEY 1705
1 Kecoughtans.....	20	30		
2 Paspaheghes.....	40	40		
3 Chickahamianians, nearly.....	250	300	60	16 +
4 Weanocks.....	100	100	15	
5 Arrowhatoeks.....	30	60		
6 Powhatan.....	40	50	10	
7 Appamatucks.....	60	120	50	"not above seven families"
8 Quiyougcohanocks.....	25	60		
9 Nandsamunds.....	200	200	45	20
10 Chesapeacks.....	100			
Cassapecock ?.....		100		
11 Youghtanund.....	60	70		
12 Mattapament.....	30	140		20
13 Pamaunkee, nearly.....	300	300	50	40
14 Werawocomoco.....	40	40		
15 Chiskiack.....	40 or 50	50	15	
16 Payankatanke.....	50 or 60			
17 Cuttatawomen I.....	30			
18 Moraughtacunds.....	80			
19 Rapahanock.....	100		30	"a few families"
20 Cuttatawomen II.....	20			
21 Nantaughtacund.....	150		50	
22 Wighcomoco.....	130		70	3
23 Sekacawone.....	30			
24 Onawmanient.....	100			
25 Patawomekes.....	over 200			
26 Tauxenent.....	40			
27 Acohanock.....	40	40		
28 Accomack.....	80			
Additional "king's houses" on Smith's map:				
1 Warraskorack.....		60		
2 Orapaks.....		50		
3 Opiscopank (on Rappa- hannock).....				
4 Pissaseck (on Rappahan- nock).....				
5 _____ (on Potomac) .				
6 Uttamussak }	From Smith and Strachey references it appears that these were the three principal settlements of the Pamunkey, No. 13			
7 Menapucunt }				
8 Kupkipcock }				

Besides the 18 names in Strachey's list which are identifiable with names on Smith's list or map, Strachey has also the following: Cantaunkack, 100 men; Mummapacune, 100 men; Pataunck, 100 men; Kaposecocke, 400 men; Pamareke, 400 men; Shamapa, 100 men; Chepecho,



300 men; Paraconos, 10 men—a total of 26 tribal jurisdictions, estimated by Strachey to comprise 3,320 fighting men.

In addition to the 11 names in the census of 1669 which are identifiable with Smith's list, the same census has also the following: Powchyicks, 30 bowmen; Totas-Chees, 40 bowmen; Portobaccoes, 60 bowmen; Matthehatique (included with Nanzcattico, alias Nantaughtacund); Appomatus (Westmoreland county and distinct from the tribe on the river of that name), 10 bowmen—a total of 16 tribal communities with 605 fighting men, exclusive of the Eastern shore, which is not noted.

Beverley gives definite figures only for the two or three principal remnant tribes, but says that all the Indians of Virginia together could not then raise 500 fighting men, including the Nottoway and Meherrin, whom he puts at about 130. This might leave about 350 for the Powhatan tribes, including those on the Eastern shore, or from 1,150 to 1,200 souls.<sup>1</sup>

The political texture of the group appears to have been that of an absolute and rather despotic monarchy, made up by conquest rather than by federation. The idea involved seems to have been an advanced form of the governmental spirit latent among Algonkian groups when they inhabit fertile and populous regions. Its like was produced on a smaller, though similar, scale in southern New England and again apparently on the North Carolina coast. It is most interesting to the student of aboriginal American government that among the tribes of different lineage inhabiting the Atlantic coast, we meet with every extreme ranging from virtual anarchy, as among the Labrador Algonkian, through

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<sup>1</sup> Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-135.

the village tribe, as in New England, the geographical and dialectically determined tribes, illustrated by those of northern New England, the federal league of the Iroquois, the monarchy as we have it here in Virginia, and confederated nations, exhibited by the Cherokee and the Creeks. All of them appear, moreover, to be of relatively late origin, well within the period of Columbian discovery.<sup>1</sup> Returning to Mooney, we may quote—

When the English landed at Jamestown in 1607, the Powhatan Confederacy was a thing of recent origin. According to Smith's statement, which is borne out by Strachey, Powhatan, who was probably not yet sixty years of age at that time, had inherited only the territories of Powhatan, Arrowhatock, Appamatuck, Pamaunkee, Youghtanund, and Mattapament, all the other tribes and territories being reported as his own conquests. The six original tribes occupied the territory extending some 25 miles around Richmond, and comprised some 520, or about one-fifth of the approximate 2,500 fighting men under his jurisdiction at the settlement period. Of these, the Pamunkey outnumbered all the other five together, and appear to have been the original nucleus of the confederacy, which probably had its beginning about the same period which Hewitt assigns for the formation of the Iroquois league, viz, 1570. The essential difference between the two was that, whereas the Iroquois league was founded upon mutual accommodation and common interest, the Powhatan Confederacy was founded on conquest and

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<sup>1</sup> Hewitt estimates the Iroquois league to have germinated as late as 1570, and this became the pattern for the Wabanaki Confederacy of subsequent date. Swanton assumes the Creek Confederacy to have dated back to the time of De Soto.

despotic personal authority, and consequently fell to pieces with the death of the master, while the Iroquois league still exists with much of the old-time form.

As an example of Powhatan's methods, we are told how, in 1608, for some infraction of his authority, he made a night attack on the Piankatank tribe, slaughtered all the men who could not escape, and carried off the women as captives. Some years before he had taken advantage of the death of the chief of the Kecoughtan to invade their territory, kill all who made resistance, and transport the rest bodily to his own country, finally settling them at Piankatank, which he had previously depopulated. In the same way, on the strength of an ominous prophecy, he had exterminated the entire Chesapeake tribe and transplanted a colony of his own people in the desolated territory. To make his position more secure, he placed his sons or brothers as chiefs in several principal towns, while he himself ruled in his own capital. From all accounts, he was greatly feared and implicitly obeyed, governing rather by his own personality than according to tribal custom. The powerful Chickahominy, however, although accepting him as over-lord, maintained their own home rule, and took an early opportunity to put themselves under the protection of the English.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could be added to this summary from existing documents, though a remark by Strachey, evidently overlooked by Mooney, is of considerable importance. Strachey noted that the native name of Virginia and likewise the term applied to the confederacy was *Tsenacomacoh*.<sup>2</sup> This appellation assumes much importance when attention is called to its resemblance to the Algonkian term for "long

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<sup>1</sup> Mooney, op. cit., pp. 135-136.

<sup>2</sup> Strachey, op. cit., p. 29.

house" or "long habitation" (*kwen·akàmαk<sup>w</sup>*).<sup>1</sup> The same term is familiar to us in the native name of the Iroquois league and also applies to the Wabanaki.<sup>2</sup>

As to the location of the tribes or towns listed above, there exists sufficient reference in the various colonial narratives for both Mooney and myself to have indicated the same with considerable accuracy. Our results are sent forth in the following table and the chart (pl. I). Besides marking the habitat of the minor tribal units, several culture margins are outlined on the basis of material which has now come to hand to be presented shortly.

*Tribes of Tidewater Virginia, with Chief Towns, Mentioned and Located by Mooney*<sup>3</sup>

TRIBES	CHIEF TOWNS
Tauxenent	About Gen. Washington, i.e. Mt. Vernon, Va.
Patowomeke (Potomac)	Potomac creek
Cuttatawoman	About Lamb creek on Rap- pahannock river
Pissasec	Above Leedstown on Rap- pahannock river
Onaumanient (Onawmanient)	Nomony river
Rappahanock	Rappahannock river, Rich- mond co.
Moraughtacund	Moratico river

<sup>1</sup> Algonkian phonetic mutations permit the change of *k* to *tc*, *ts*. The translation of the rest of the term is simple and clear after this consonant shift.

<sup>2</sup> Speck, *The Eastern Algonkian (Wabanaki) Confederacy*, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. xvii, no. 3, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> Conference and correspondence, 1920.



TRIBES	CHIEF TOWNS
Secacaonie (Secacawoni)	Coan river
Wighcocomicoe (Wicomico)	Wococomico river
Cuttatawoman	Cowtoman river
Nantaughtacund	Port Tobacco on Rappahannock river
Mattapoment (Mattaponi)	Mattaponi river
Pamunkie (Pamunkey)	Romuncock, King William co.
Werowocomico	About Roscows (?), Gloucester — about opposite mouth of Queen creek
Payankatonk (Payankatank)	Turk's Ferry
Youghtanund	Piankatank river
Chickahominie	Pamunkey river
(Chickahominy)	Orapaks
Powhatan	Chickahominy river
Arrohatoc	Powhatan, James falls at Richmond
Kecoughtan	Arrohatocs, Henrico co.
Appamatoc	Roscows, Elizabeth City co.
Quiocohanoc	Bermuda Hundred, Chesterfield co.
Warrasqueak (Warrasqueoc)	About upper. Chipোক creek, Surry co.
Nansamond	Warrasqueak, Isle of Wight co.
Chesapeak	About Chuckatuck, Nansamond co.
Accomack (Accomac)	About Lynnhaven river, Princess Anne co.
	About Cheriton (Cherry-stone inlet), Northampton co.

Again let us refer to Mooney's study. The ensuing sketch of the momentous 54-year struggle

between the advancing Virginia colonists and the resisting Powhatan natives, correctly and graphically covers the subject:

The displacement of the native tribes began almost with the finishing of the first stockade. The English, being ill supplied with provisions and not yet in position to procure more by their own labor, proceeded to live off the country, making constant demands which the helpless savages were not strong enough to resist. For instance, a foraging party was sent to Nandsamund to procure 400 bushels of corn that the Indians had promised in order to save their canoes, which the white men had seized and were coolly chopping to pieces. It was now winter, and the Indians pleaded that their corn was near spent—they had already loaded the first visitors with as much as the boats could carry—and that Powhatan had told them to keep the rest for themselves. So, “upon the discharging of our muskets they all fled and shot not an arrow. The first house we came to we set on fire, which when they perceived they desired we would make no more spoil and they would give us half they had. How they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three boats.” Continuing, they visited one town after another, but found all the people fled until they reached Apamatuck, “where we found not much; that they had we equally divided,” leaving the owners copper and other trinkets in payment.

On another occasion “we, having so much threatened their ruin and the razing of their houses, boats, and weirs,” the frightened Indians promised, “though they wanted themselves, to fraught our ship and bring it aboard to avoid suspicion. So that, five or six days after, from all parts of the country within ten or twelve miles, in the extreme frost and snow, they brought us provision on their naked backs.”

The result of it all was that before the colony was two

years old the principal Indian settlements had been seized by the white men, Powhatan had withdrawn from his place within easy reach of Jamestown to a remote town on the head of Chickahominy river, and killings and burnings had become so frequent that no Englishman was safe alone outside the stockade of the fort.

Open war on a large scale was deferred, however, until 1622, when Powhatan had been four years dead and his brother Opechancanough had succeeded to the Indian government. Pocahontas, for whose sake her father had restrained his own hostile feeling, had died before him. On March 22, 1622 (o.s.), Opechancanough began the war with a simultaneous and unexpected attack upon almost every settlement and plantation within the limits of the colony, by which 347 men, women, and children were massacred in the space of a few hours, most of them without the slightest chance for defending themselves, their lifeless bodies being mangled and abused in regular savage fashion. The Indians of the Eastern shore took no part in the massacre or the consequent war. The people of Potomac also remained friendly until driven to hostility by the massacre of a number of their people.

Immediately on receipt of the news at home, orders were forwarded to the governor of the colony: "to root out [the Indians] from being any longer a people. . . . Wherefore, as they have merited, let them have a perpetual war without peace or truce, and, although they have desired it, without mercy, too." Exception was made, however, "for the preservation of the younger people of both sexes, whose bodies may by labor and service become profitable." Women were not included in this exception, but were doomed with the men. To accomplish the extermination, instructions were given to starve the Indians by burning and spoiling their corn fields, to hire the neighboring tribes to bring in their heads, and to organize and keep constantly in the field bands of armed men to "pursue and

follow them, surprising them in their habitations, interrupting them in their hunting, burning their towns, demolishing their temples, destroying their canoes, plucking up their weirs, carrying away their corn, and depriving them of whatsoever may yield them succor or relief." Special rewards were promised for the seizure of any of the chiefs, with "a great and singular reward" to any one who could take Opechancanough.

In January, 1623, the Virginia council reported to the home office that they had anticipated instructions by setting upon the Indians in all places, and that by computation and by the confession of the Indians themselves, "we have slain more of them this year than hath been slain before since the beginning of the colony."

By this war the Indians were so reduced in numbers and means that for more than twenty years there was doubtful truce, when Opechancanough determined upon a final effort, although now so old and feeble that he was no longer able to walk or even to open his eyes without help. As before, the rising began with sudden surprise and massacre, April 18, 1644 (o.s.), along the whole border, but with the heaviest attack along Pamunkey river, where the blind and decrepit but still unconquered chief commanded in person, carried about by his men from place to place. The number of whites killed in this second massacre is variously stated from 300 to 500, the discrepancy being due to the fact that the colony was now so well advanced and settlements spread out over so much territory that exact accounting was neither so easy nor of so much importance as in 1622.

We have few details of this war, in which this time the advantage was so immensely on the side of the English that the result is summed up in the report of the Assembly in March, 1646, that the Indians were then "so routed and dispersed that they are no longer a nation, and we now suffer only from robbery by a few starved outlaws."



The same Assembly authorized other expeditions and the building of forts along the border. In the end, Opechancanough was taken and brought to Jamestown, where he was shot in prison by one of his guards. His successor, in October, 1646, made a treaty of submission by which the Indians agreed to abandon everything below the falls on James (Richmond) and Pamunkey (near Hanover ?) rivers, and to restrict themselves on the north to the territory between the York and the Rappahannock.

In 1654, on occasion of another Indian alarm, a large force was ordered against the Indians on Rappahannock river, but no details of the result are given. In the next year the Indian lands were made inalienable except by permission of the Assembly. In 1656 a large body of strange Indians, called Richahecrians (possibly Cherokee), came down from the mountains and made camp at the falls of James river, apparently to start a friendly acquaintance for trade purposes. A force of 100 men, however, under Col. Edward Hill, was sent to drive them back. Totopotomoi, chief of the Pamunkey, joined the expedition with 100 of his own men. The result was disastrous. The English were defeated, the Pamunkey chief and most of his men were killed, and Hill was obliged to make terms with the Richahecrians, for which he was afterward brought to trial by the Assembly.

In 1675 came another Indian war, involving Maryland as well as Virginia, and known in history as Bacon's Rebellion from the fact that the leader of the Virginia volunteers acted in direct opposition to the colonial governor, Berkeley. The immediate cause was a series of small raids upon the Virginia frontier by Indians from Maryland, either refugees fleeing before the Iroquois, or, according to Beverley, instigated to mischief by the jealousy of New York traders.<sup>1</sup> A force of 1,000 men, including

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<sup>1</sup> Mooney later became convinced that these Indians were Susquehannock who had been driven into the mountains.

cavalry, was authorized against the Indians, and it was made death, with forfeiture of estate, to sell, directly or indirectly, powder or firearms to Indians. The tribes most concerned were the Susquehanna (Conestoga) and Doeg (Nanticoke ?) of Maryland, with the Occaneechi and others of western Virginia. The broken Powhatan tribes, under the woman chief, Queen Anne of Pamunkey, took no part in the hostilities, but suffered, as usual, in the result. In 1677 the war was brought to a close by a general treaty of peace with all the tribes in relation with the Virginia government, by which they submitted to the English authority and were confirmed in the possession of their tribal lands, subject each to an annual quit-rent of three arrows and a tribute of beaver skins.<sup>1</sup> At the same time they bound themselves to give immediate notice of the appearance of any strange Indians on the frontier, and to be ready to furnish a quota of men when required to serve against an enemy. The queen of Pamunkey, widow of Totopotomoi, already mentioned, was recognized in certain special dignities. The signatory tribes were the Pamunkey, Appamattoc, Weanoc, Nansemond, Nantaughtacund, and Portabaccos—all of the old Powhatan Confederacy; with the Nottoway, Meherrin, Monacan, and Saponi.

This treaty may be considered to mark the end of the Indian period. Henceforth the dwindling tribes appear chiefly as appealing for protection of justice, the chronic grievance being trespass upon their reserved lands. From various references it is evident that Indian slavery was common even after peace had come, and this probably hastened the process of intermixture with the negro race. Their last appearance in treaty negotiations was at Albany,

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<sup>1</sup> The Pamunkey continue to this day to carry their "tribute," as they call it, of venison, fowl, and fish to the Governor at Richmond. This is done about Christmas time, but it depends upon their ability to make a successful deer hunt.

in 1722, when, through the efforts of the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, the Iroquois made definite promise to refrain from further inroads upon the Virginia tribes, among whom were named the Nansemond, Pamunkey, and Chickahominy, with the Nottoway, Meherrin, and Christanna Indians, under which last name were included the remnants of the Siouan tribes of the East.<sup>1</sup>

#### POLITICAL LIFE

Powhatan had a great deal of authority as chief. He assumed to such an extent the prerogatives of his office that in no region known in eastern North America was there any stronger semblance to a native monarchy.<sup>2</sup> Details are lacking as to his predecessors and the character of their government, yet it might be inferred that if any rigid inheritance ruling had characterized the office of Powhatan it would have been referred to by someone at the time, since much importance was attached to the concept of sovereignty in the minds of the English royalists, who were indeed greatly impressed, and we may imagine unduly, by the pomp of the Indian king. Certainly the Pamunkey did not maintain the idea of royal descent in the sense in which it was under-

<sup>1</sup> Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-141.

<sup>2</sup> A recent bold and original evaluation of the events recorded in the contact between the Virginia Indians and the Colony from an Indian point of view and an interpretation of Powhatan as an emperor, will be found in William Christie MacLeod's *The American Indian Frontier* (The History of Civilization, ed. by C. K. Ogden), New York, 1928, chap. xiv.

stood by the English, for Powhatan's mantle fell upon Opekankanough, supposed to be his brother, and not upon his sons who were well known.

The line of succession following Opekankanough is not well enough known for us to reconstruct any scheme of transfer right. Nevertheless, from the recorded fact of descent from Powhatan to his sisters'



FIG. 43.—The so-called "Opechancano" mound on the Pamunkey reservation.

sons, we might infer that it was of the usual east-central Algonkian pattern, often materially inherited and open to whatever development might be made of it. Powhatan accordingly seems to have been more of a demagogue than the usual Algonkian chiefs of history—Tecumseh, Pontiac, Philip, and Uncas.



Pamunkey succession from the time of Totopotomoi's widow, about 1677, is broken by a gap, as the Indians did not know how to write and their councils were not recorded.<sup>1</sup> Referring to traditions, however, and written proceedings still extant among the tribal papers, we find the names of

H. Langston Tazewell, elected life chief from 1850–1858

Thomas Cook, elected life chief from 1858–1880<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Langston, chief from 1880–1890

William Bradby, chief from 1890–1894

Charles S. Bradby, chief from 1894–1898

Theo. T. Dennis, chief from 1898–1902

George M. Cook, chief from 1902–



FIG. 44.—Pamunkey homestead—residence of Chief Cook.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, page 453.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. W. Franklin Jones, of Richmond, states from records of June 5, 1865, that Thomas Cook and Thomas Sampson were reelected head men of the tribe.

The present chief, George M. Cook, has been reëlected continuously since. His authority is fairly strong, even surprisingly so in view of prevailing conditions. As in former times he is now to a marked degree the host of the village. Visitors are cared for by him; and sometimes, it may be added, his burden is considerable and his compensation meager, especially when they happen to be ethnologists.

At present the Pamunkey elect their officers after a procedure which has come down through direct tradition. When the candidates for an office have been chosen, the name of one is mentioned before the council and someone is appointed to carry around to those present a handful of beans and a handful of corn grains. Each member present is given a bean and a kernel of corn. The ballot is then called for. If the member is in favor of the candidate he drops a kernel of corn in a hat which is passed around; if opposed to the candidate he drops a bean in. The contents of the hat are then counted. If there are more corn kernels than beans, the candidate is elected. Should there be more beans than corn in the hat, someone else is nominated for election and the procedure is repeated.

In 1894 Pollard recorded the same custom as follows:

As regards the internal government of the Pamunkey, the executive power is vested in a chief, while the legislative and judicial functions are performed by the chief



FIG. 45.—Old Pamunkey spring and ancient dance place. (Photo. by Bureau of American Ethnology.)



together with a council composed of four men. The chief was formerly elected for life, but now both chief and council are elected every four years by vote of the male citizens. Their method of balloting for their executive officer is unique. The council names two candidates to be voted for. Those favoring the election of candidate number 1 must indicate their choice by depositing a grain of corn in the ballot-box at the schoolhouse, while those who favor the election of candidate number 2 must deposit a bean in the same place. The former or the latter candidate is declared chosen according as the grains of corn or the beans predominate.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE QUESTION OF THE MATERNAL CLAN

It is evident that in Virginia there was some form of social grouping determined on the mother's side. Yet the only evidence upon which this rests is a statement by John Smith attributed to Powhatan, as follows:

His kingdome descendeth not to his sonnes nor children: but first to his brethren, wherof he hath 3. namely Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest: and after them to the heires male and female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.<sup>2</sup>

In another place Smith repeats as follows:

Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his brethren succeeded other. For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so successively the weomens heires. For the Kings have

<sup>1</sup> Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Tyler, *Narratives*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.



as many weomen as they will, his Subjects two, and most but one.<sup>1</sup>

We may use these remarks as far as reasonable speculation will permit. Swanton<sup>2</sup> thinks that they have probability in their favor as bearing upon the maternal social organization in Virginia. It would have been unusual if the Powhatan tribes had not acquired such a grouping in some form through contact with the peoples on all sides of them having a maternal determination. Their near relatives, the Piscataway, and the Delawares, in the seventeenth century after the period of contact with the Iroquois,<sup>3</sup> the southeastern or Gulf culture area in general, and the Iroquoian companies, are characterized by matrilineality. The whole question of matrilineal descent among the eastern Algonkians has still to be considered from an unbiased sociological viewpoint, it seems.

#### LEGAL STATUS OF THE PAMUNKEY TRIBE

The Pamunkey, with a resident population of little more than a hundred, still preserve their national independence under the privileges accorded them by the State of Virginia almost two and a half

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Swanton, J. R., *Social Organization of American Tribes*, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. VII, 1905, p. 666.

<sup>3</sup> MacLeod, W. C., *The Family Hunting Territory and Lenape Political Organization*, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. XXIV, no. 4, 1922.

centuries ago. They enjoy the unique distinction of being in all likelihood the smallest independent nation in the world. Pollard's synopsis of the political circumstances leaves nothing to be added.<sup>1</sup>

In government the tribe is a true democracy, over which, however, the State of Virginia<sup>2</sup> exercises a kindly supervision. The State appoints five trustees to look after the interest of the Indians. No reports of these trustees could be found on file at the office of the governor of Virginia, and their only function that could be ascertained to have been performed was the disapproval of certain sections in the Indian code of laws. Laws thus disapproved are expunged from the statute book. The tribe is not taxed, but they pay an annual tribute to the State by presenting through their chief to the governor of Virginia a number of wild ducks or other game.

The chief and council are the judge and jury to try all who break the law, and to settle disputes between citizens. Their jurisdiction is supposed to extend to all cases arising on the reservation and which concern only the residents thereon, with the exception of trial for homicide, in which case the offender would be arraigned before the county court of King William county. The Indians claim, however, that it would be their privilege to use the courts of the commonwealth of Virginia to settle such difficulties as could not be efficiently dealt with by their own courts, provided such difficulty arose from a breach of a State law. The writer does not know on what this claim is

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<sup>1</sup> Pollard, J. G., *The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia*, op. cit., pp. 15-17.

<sup>2</sup> Pollard adds in a footnote: "The writer has been unable to find any statute or judicial decision fixing the relation of the tribe to the State." Dr. Jones (corresp. Nov. 21, 1928) calls attention to Acts of Assembly of Virginia, 1893-94 (p. 975), covering tribal laws similar to those on the next page.

based. As may be seen from the printed transcript (verbatim et literatim) of the written laws of the Pamunkey which follows, they impose only fine or banishment as penalties. There is no corporal punishment either by chastisement or incarceration.

*Tribal Laws*

The laws of the Pamunkey Indian Town written here in Sept. 25, 1887.

The following Laws made and approved by chief and council men Feb. 18th 1886 for the Ruling of the Pamunkey Tribe of Indians.

1st Res. No Member of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe shall intermarry with anny Nation except White or Indian under penalty of forfeiting their rights in Town.

2nd No non-resident shall be allowed to be hired or sheltered more than 3 months—and if anny person are known to hire or shelter anny sutch persons shall pay 50c pr. day for every day over the above mentioned time. Amendment. Should sutch person persons be quiet and agreeable they may be hire 30 or 60 day under good behavior.

3rd Anny person slandering another without sufficient evidence shall be fined in the 1st offence \$5 Second \$10 and in the 3rd they are to be removed from the place by the Trustees chief and counclen men.

4th No nun-resident shall be taught in our free school except the concent of chief counclmen or any other Indian Tribe.

5th Anny party or person found guilty of stealing anny thing be longing to anny one else they shall pay the party for the amt. that are stolen from them and also shall be fined from \$1 to \$5. 3rd time they are to be removed from the place.

6th If anny person shall depridate or Trespass on another ons premises and shall break down gates or destroy

fences or anny other property shall be made to pay or replace all damages and if any miner are engaged in sutch, their parent shall be responsible for their acts and each and anny that are found guilty Shall be fined from \$1 to \$5.

7th be it known that each road of Indian Town shall be 30 ft. wide and all person that has moved their fence in the road shall have 30 days to move them out and if they are not moved they are to be moved by the chief and the councl men and the expence paid by the Tresspasser.

8th if anny citizen are notifide to attend anny meeting and fails to do so without sufficient excuse shall be fined from \$1 to \$1.50.

9th be it known that all the citizens age 16 to 60 of Indian Town shall work on the road as far as red hill and anny member refuse to work shall be fined 75c and Jacob Miles to be Road Master and he to be paid \$1 pr. year.

10th Be it known that no person be allowed to swear on the high way of Indian Town and if so they are to be fined from \$1 to \$2. (Amendment) 1st offence 25 2nd 75 3rd 100.

11th Be it known that anny person or persons seen or known to be fighting upon the highways or else where of Indian Town in the Town the one found guilty of first breaking the peace shall be fined not less than \$3. nor more than \$5 dollars.

12th Resolve that each male citizen of Indian Town owning a piece of land shall pay \$1.00 pr. year or the value in produce to the Treasurer of Indian Town yearly for her benefits.

13th be it known that the Hall Sein Shore of Indian Town shall be rented out yearly for the benefit of the Treasury of Indian Town and if anny person are known to set anny obstruction in the way shall be fined \$5 in each offence.

14th If anny person owning a piece of land and do not build and live upon it in 18m it shall be considered as town property and the person shall be allowed 20 days to move





FIG. 46.—Christmas Indian dance in the woods on the Pamunkey reservation in 1921.

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what they has thereon off; then it shall be considered as Town Property and the Town can allow any one else the same privelege under the above obligations.

15th Any person that become rude and corrupt and refuse to be submissive to the Laws of Indian Town shall be removed by the Trustees, chief and councilmen.

16th Any person that are in debt to the town and refuse to pay the amt. enoug of their property shall be sold to satisfy the claim.

17th be it known that we shall have a fence law and it shall be 4 ft. high on a ditch Bank and 5 ft. high on a levil and the holes are to be 1 foot 4 in hole 2 ft. 6 in holes 3 ft. 8 in hole and Remainder to the judgement of the fencer.

18th An amendment to Resolution all male citizens of Indian from 18 year upward shall pay \$1.00 pr. year and until the amt is paid they will not be given no land.

Besides these written laws, there are others which have not been committed to writing, the most important of which relate to the tenure of land. The reservation belongs to the tribe as a whole. There is no individual ownership of land. The chief and council allot a parcel of cleared land of about 8 acres to the head of each family. The occupant is generally allowed to keep the land for life, and at his death it goes back to the tribe to be reallotted, unless the deceased should leave helpless dependents, in which case the land is rented for their benefit. The houses on the reservation are individual property and can be bought and sold at pleasure.

### PAMUNKEY HUNTING GROUNDS

Perhaps the most striking feature of all in the natural history of the modern Pamunkey comes before us in the survival of the controlled hunting and trapping rights: the custom by which each hunter in the band controls an assigned and definitely

bounded area within which he enjoys the exclusive privilege of setting his traps for fur-bearing animals. Various phases of the practice of hunting and trapping within restricted boundaries have attracted attention among certain Algonkian tribes, to such an extent that the custom may be regarded as forming a more or less typical institution, with varied local associations, among the northern branches of the stock. Before discussing the significance and authenticity of the Pamunkey case, however, I shall first present purely descriptive material.

The present diminutive Pamunkey reservation of about 900 acres contains two kinds of land. There is a dry arable tract of about 300 acres which is completely under cultivation for the usual crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and other staple crops of this part of Virginia's coastal plain. The district that interests us, however, is approximately 600 acres of virgin forested swamp. The usual arborescent growth of the freshwater swamp of this latitude is most strikingly exhibited over the whole area. The swamp-gum, the sour gum, the swamp oak, maple, magnolia, hackberry, poplar and their smaller associates, crowd every foot of the floor of this swamp, the only tree lacking to make it thoroughly coastal Carolinian being the bald cypress. The cypress seems to be represented by only a few scattered clusters and individual trees at several spots along the Pamunkey, though it is noticeably abundant beginning at the next river southward,

the famous Chickahominy. When the ancestors of the Pamunkey, about 1658, chose to reserve this particular tract along the river for their final domain, it must have been with a clear vision of their future need of a territory where natural inaccessibility would provide a haven for game more or less permanent and, to the agencies of the day, indestructible. The swamp extends for a distance of from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 miles along the river and encircles about four-fifths of the island-peninsula which comprises the territory where the Pamunkey descendants still operate their own form of political and economic control.

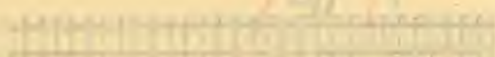
Aside from its natural interest the swamp has a distinct historical background, having been from earliest traditional information divided into the same six hunting tracts that we find still recognized in the native land-laws of the tribe. These six tracts are separated by the intervals between certain well-known creeks, or lagoons, "guts" as they are locally termed, which wind their way some distance through the interior fastnesses of the swamp and open out into the river. In each of these tracts one of the hunters enjoys the right of pursuing his hunting and trapping activity without competition, and free from trespass by his neighbors. These tracts and the lagoons are shown with their names and general contortions in a sketch by Paul Miles, one of the hunters, in conference with his associates and the chief. Such a chart, I may add, had never been



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 400 ft  
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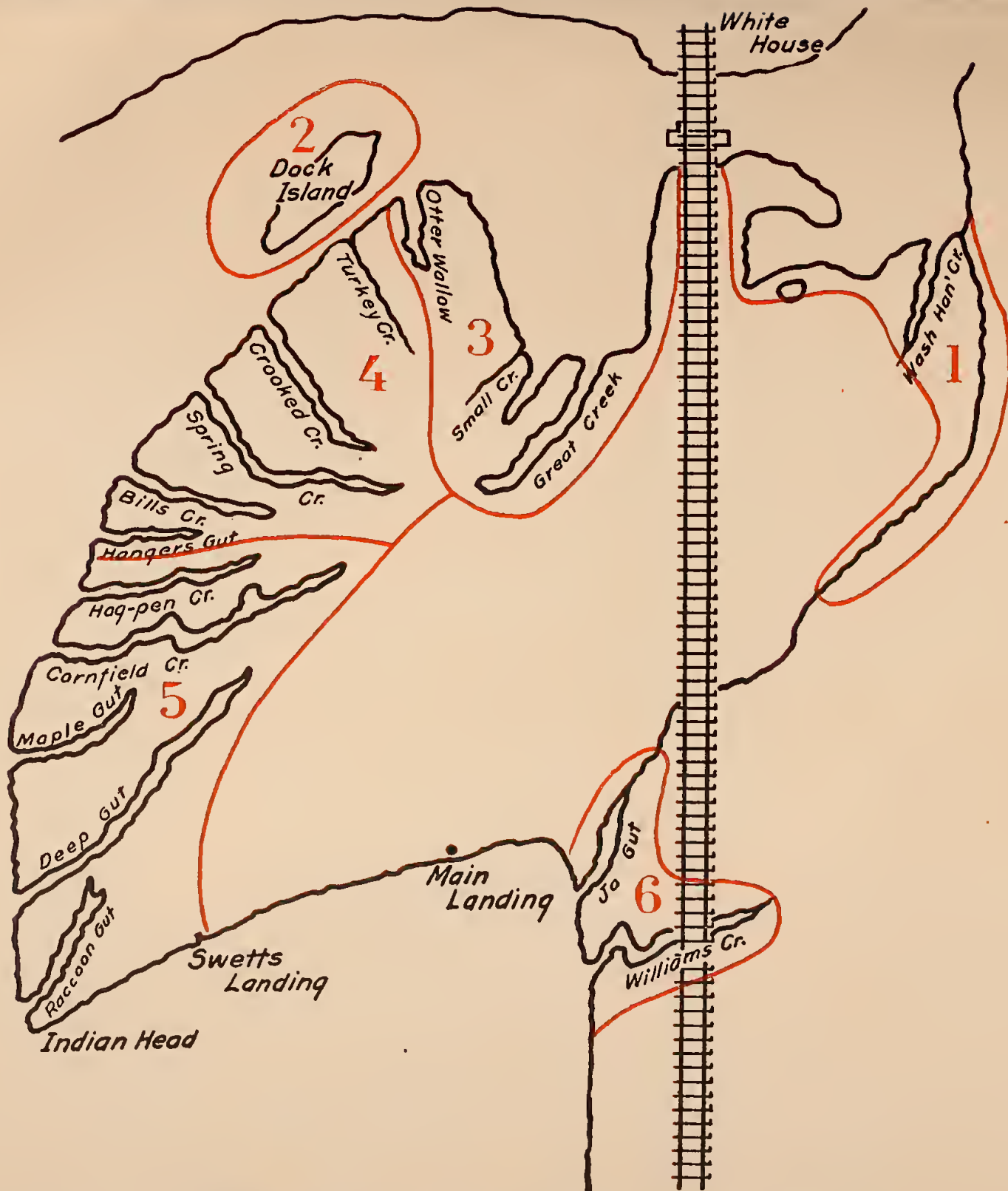


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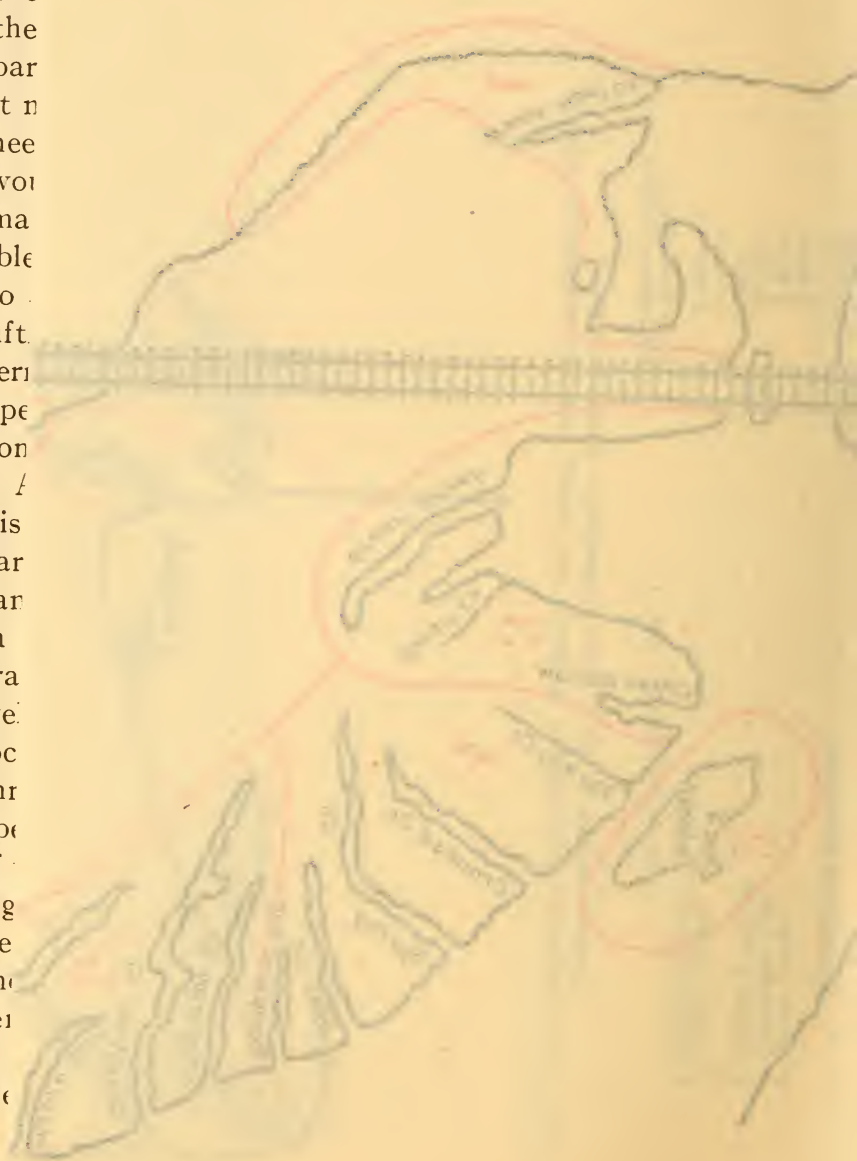




MAP OF THE PAMUNKEY RESERVATION SHOWING THE TRIBAL HUNTING GROUNDS IN 1920-21.  
(AFTER A DRAWING BY PAUL L. MILES, PROPRIETOR OF TERRITORIES 2 AND 3)

Native Proprietors in 1920-21:		Approximate Distance from River Shore
1. Tecumseh Cook.....		1 mile
2. Paul L. Miles.....		1 mile
3. ....		1 1/4 mile
4. Ezekiel Langston.....		3/4 mile
5. Tecumseh Cook.....		1/2 mile
6. James Bradby.....		4 3/4 miles
Reservation water-front.....		

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made before by them; accordingly they showed no little interest in preparing it. It is presented, after redrawing for reproduction, in pl. II, the only addition to its original form being the lettering.

No. 1. The lagoon and marshes at the mouth of *Wash han* creek, including the shore westward as far as the railroad bridge, constitute the hunting plot which we number one, known as the *Wash han* grounds. The name is supposed to come from "wash hands." On the eastern border the privilege of use stops at the edge of a white man's land. This territory has been for several years operated by Tecumseh Cook, a son of the chief. There is little more to be said of it, except that some high pine woods are included in it, and that raccoons and muskrats are the principal product.

No. 2. An extensive grassy marsh, separated by a few hundred feet from the shore, is known as Dock or Docks island from the plenitude of dock, the favorite food of the muskrat, which grows on and about it. Trapping there yields an abundance of muskrats. The place is a resort of ducks in the fall and winter. These grounds are worked by Paul Miles.

No. 3. Adjoining number one, beginning on the shore at the railroad bridge, hunting ground number three follows the shore around the big cove and landing place on the western side of the reservation, and takes in the waters of Great creek and Small creek. Great creek is its major lien. The division

line on the southern and western edge is between Otter wallow and Turkey creek. Great creek is a fairly rich plot and yields muskrats abundantly to its proprietor. Ducks seek refuge in its murky channels and turkeys are frequently shot from roost out of the gum trees which overshadow it. This has also been controlled for some years by Paul Miles.

No. 4. Beginning with Turkey creek and taking in several productive lagoons, called Crooked, Spring, and Bills creeks, is a rather extensive forested swampy district terminating at Hanger's gut. It is considered more than a mile in extent from the river back to high land. This is worked by Ezekiel Langston, who is rewarded principally by an abundance of muskrats, raccoons, and otters; he supports himself entirely by fishing, hunting, trapping, and corn raising, as do the other four families whose men operate hunting grounds.

No. 5. What is considered to be the largest ground extends from Hanger's gut to Swetts landing, taking in Hog-pen and Cornfield creeks, and Maple, Deep, and Raccoon guts. This is leased by Tecumseh Cook.

No. 6. The small tract of timber swamp and marsh from Joe gut to Williams creek is trapped by Jim Bradby.

There are besides a number of other families who live by the same industry which they ply at large for the want of specific territories.

In one case at least among Algonkians in the north

the custom was followed of marking off the boundaries of inherited family hunting territories by birch-bark signs. But here in Virginia no indication of boundary signs occurs, for none is needed. The creeks dividing the plots are so well known that almost any boy of Pamunkey town can name and locate them. Furthermore there are no social associations involved in the possession of the hunting grounds, for they are not now inheritable, nor does tradition at Pamunkey point to an earlier different or more complicated situation. We shall probably never know whether or not the grounds were originally inherited in families. Each year the six hunting grounds are disposed of by lease to any applicant in the tribe who pays the rental. The decision and right of assignment rest in the hands of the chief and council. Generally in spring the annual assignment is made. A somewhat similar case incidentally is reported for the Nova Scotia Micmac. The tracts lease nowadays for about forty dollars each. Often one hunter will acquire two grounds, yet sometimes all will not be rented, which of course is advantageous, for then the next year's supply of game is replenished after a season of repose.

The proprietary privileges include the use of the old deadfall trap sets which are placed in the most favorable spots on all the grounds (fig. 47). These are the heavily constructed log-and-stake cabin deadfalls set in the muddy runways where muskrats and raccoons pass by to reach their feeding stations.

Year after year these traps do their work, requiring little repair, and some of them may still be seen where they are known to have stood since the Civil War. That the stationary deadfalls are



FIG. 47.—Pamunkey deadfall for raccoons and otters. This is a permanent set in Big gut.

aboriginal Pamunkey properties there is little doubt. The natives prefer them to the modern steel-traps because they do not rust, they never allow game to escape minus a leg, and they do not damage the fur. I shall describe them in more detail in another place.



In short we meet here another case of the phenomenon exhibited widely among the northern Algonkians. The case at hand is no more elaborate and yet no less fundamental economically than what is generally the normal thing in the northern Algon-



FIG. 48.—Pamunkey hunter rebaiting a deadfall on shore of Great creek. Muskrats, raccoons, and otters are taken here.

kian culture where hunting is dominant and where native institutions have escaped annihilation. The principal question arising is, How could it have so escaped in Virginia after several centuries of English contact?

Whatever skeptical argument may be brought forth with the intention of nullifying the importance of the Pamunkey circumstances in a study of Algonkian economic institutions, we have to consider the following confirmatory facts: (1) The institution of the hunting territory is an inseparable factor among the Algonkians proper where the chase is vital. (2) We already have before us instances where the social pattern has been adjusted to a paternal exogamic type of society, as it appears among the Ojibwa, as well as to a maternal clan organization as among the southern New England tribes, although material illustrating the latter has not yet been presented in print. (3) The hunting territory, from its general distribution and its fundamental character, crops out in different Algonkian areas under modifications which, however much they may diverge, are confined within such limitations as can be well understood through consideration of environmental factors. A certain deduction would seem to emerge then from our survey: that the hunting institution is a fundamental and an old Algonkian trait. Hence the case presented by the Pamunkey is a normal one except for some unusual facts, chief among which are that the Pamunkey have lost so much of their cultural background; that their habitat is so distant from other Algonkians possessing the feature in question; that the practice of agriculture was on an equal footing with that of hunting. It is furthermore somewhat puzzling that an Algonkian

institution so weakened by the rival activity of agriculture, even in early times, should have survived the decline of native culture so long. On most of these matters, however, there is some room for discussion.

A search through the narratives of the early Virginia explorers fails to yield any definite information on the existence of restricted hunting grounds among the Powhatan tribes of the time. Yet the remarks of Captain John Smith on the hunting practices of the tribes of the low country might apply as well to the people of the lower St. Lawrence valley who carry on an annual movement from their settlements along the coast to their hunting grounds in the interior.

While the following statement from Captain Smith is not explicit on the questions of inheritance and privilege, it at least alludes to a form of territorial subdivision which we recognize at once and may build upon:

But this word Werowance which we call and conster [construe] for a king, is a common worde whereby they call all commanders: for they have fewe words in their language and but few occasions to use anie officers more then one commander, which commonly they call werowances. *They all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits to fish, fowle, or hunt in,* but they hold all of their great Werowances Powhatan, unto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare, turkies, wild beasts, and corne."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, op. cit., p. 115. The italics are mine.

In a subsequent chapter on fishing customs mention will be made of the location rights which were recognized in the placing of weirs or fish-traps near the headwaters of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers. This is one of the few instances where we find such regulations on the Atlantic coast, though they are fundamental among the northwest Pacific coast groups. Information coming from the Wabanaki tribes of the northeast seems to point to a similar but weakened control of fishing stations in the salmon area.<sup>1</sup>

John Smith again (1612) says: "They leave their habitations and reduce themselves into companies and go to the desert places with their families where they spend their time in hunting up toward the mountains by the heads of their rivers where there is plenty of game. For betwixt the rivers, the grounds are so narrow that little cometh there which they devoure not." <sup>2</sup> He adds the statement that they travel three or four days' journey from their habitations, which would carry them say 50 to 80 miles from the Chesapeake bay line. We may imagine their best hunting grounds then to have been in the general region of the falls-line between the Piedmont and the Coastal plain, along the line from Washington to Richmond. Captain Smith refers in other places to the scarcity of game in the

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<sup>1</sup> The writer's unpublished manuscript on the Malecite of New Brunswick.

<sup>2</sup> Tyler, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.



inhabited portions of Powhatan's country as due to the size of the native population. The present Powhatan survivors in Virginia reside well up toward the rising land in what would be near the western frontier of their habitat in the period when the Monacan tribes occupied the foothills of the eastern Blue Ridge. They evidently chose their best hunting resorts for their final abode. I think it quite a plausible assumption, moreover, that certain Indian district names encountered today at many points along all the low-country rivers are reminders of the old hunting district names.

In the survival of the reduced hunting-grounds arrangement at Pamunkey after the country was taken over by the English, the situation reproduces what has developed among some of the Ojibwa bands of the Lakes region. On the Gull Lake reservation in Minnesota, for instance, when some years ago the White Earth band was moved from its reserve and placed with the Gull Lake band, the resident population at Gull lake had to share its hunting lands with the newcomers. As a consequence the original Gull Lake districts which had been under inherited family proprietorship were, under the pressure of economic invasion, obliged to be reduced in size very considerably to provide hunting grounds for the aliens. It may accordingly be surmised that, with the occupancy of their extensive original domain by the English at the close of the seventeenth century and their assignment to the

small reservation on the river, the Pamunkey recast their hunting arrangements to coincide with the reduced area, portioning the available land of the reservation into miniature hunting grounds based on the old plan. So it may be construed, at least in accordance with the natural likelihood of the case both from external and internal evidence. For the latter the following may be considered:

If the above explanation of the change which has taken place be accepted as tentatively adequate, we can understand, by its aid, the reason for some of the present district names applied to prominent locations on Pamunkey river, as well as upon the neighboring rivers in Virginia which were inhabited by tribes of close affinity. The Indian names of these reaches of the river and of some of the points on its shores are still known in the neighborhood. These are extremely interesting. Just below the reservation is an extensive marsh and forested swamp known as Cohoke, a name of fixed usage applied both to the grassy marsh and to the swamp which is picturesquely "Cohoke low-ground." Cohoke is clearly the original native district name. Although Cohoke is owned by whites, it still harbors an abundance of game which the Pamunkey regularly draw upon, especially the deer which they take by the drive and canoe, a method to be described later. Farther down on the north shore of the river is also Takhoman (*tak<sup>wh</sup>óman* in the Pamunkey pronunciation). This is a farm on very fertile land where the

presence of archeological refuse attests a former Indian family settlement. On the opposite shore of the river is Coosiak. Opposite the reservation is Rickahock, a name common to each of the four rivers of tidewater Virginia at some particular reach of its course. Below still on the northern shore near the railroad station of Romancoke is the region known among the Pamunkey by the



FIG. 49.—Big bend in Pamunkey river; Uttamussak in the distance.

name Uttamussak, an old name appearing in the records as Powhatan's "temple" site and marked on Captain Smith's map of 1608. On Mattaponi river are similar locality names, and again on Chickahominy and James rivers. Some of those on Chickahominy river undoubtedly perpetuate Smith's nomenclature.

My point, in short, is that these place-names

may be reminders of old geographical designations for former hunting territories. District names also occur attached to the family hunting territories among the Indians of the interior Province of Quebec.

When it is learned that a form of the characteristic Algonkian hunting-territory institution is still in practice among the Pamunkey, we might well wonder what are the circumstances in which it could have been perpetuated among the Powhatan descendants until this day; for it is scarcely to be expected that successful hunting could be waged by an Indian band in a region like modern tidewater Virginia. Suspicion has accordingly already been expressed of its being a modern development in this particular instance. But if we examine probabilities I think we may be finally as much inclined to regard the whole thing here as a native survival as to regard it as being the expedient of more recent economic conditions.

In considering further the occurrence of the hunting-territory institution in Virginia, it might be expected to have graded off to extinction in time and place so remote from the sources of contact with those regions and conditions which gave it existence and where it still flourishes as a phenomenon associated with hunting and not with agriculture. In seeking the nearest area where even a partly agricultural Algonkian tribe exhibits the expected feature, we are at a loss to settle upon the direction of



search. Northeastwardly the Massachusetts and Narragansett of southern New England undoubtedly had their own modified form of the institution, since something akin to it was recorded by Roger Williams. This I have discussed as a proved case in a separate paper.<sup>1</sup> But westward toward the habitat of the Central Algonkians, where many features of material culture, and no doubt of social life, had analogies with those of the Powhatan group, we have a surprising meagerness of evidence that the territorial division was observed in any region south of the Ojibwa of Minnesota. Both Dr. Michelson and Mr. Skinner profess to have met with indications of its former provenience among the Sauk and Fox, but no more instances are forthcoming in spite of their intensive knowledge of this culture area. Further search may still reveal its memory, as I suspect will possibly be the case, or else it has gone by the board among the Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Menomini, and the other central divisions through the acculturation of economic agencies connected with agriculture more enduring and more forcible than the uncertain activities of the chase.

Some of the dubious qualities of the case just mentioned are, however, answerable. One objection arising against the originality of the hunting grounds at Pamunkey, in particular, becomes weakened by

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<sup>1</sup> Territorial Subdivisions and Boundaries of the Wampanoag, Massachusetts, and Nauset Indians, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, misc. no. 44.

evidence directly at hand in Virginia. To attribute the inception of the hunting-grounds custom among the Pamunkey exclusively to an imitation of the whites is manifestly a surmise aimed in the wrong direction, for white hunters and trappers in colonial times, and now as well, in the Southern and Middle states are not known to have had the slightest knowledge of such a policy of operation. In the past, as well as now, they have been characterized as unconfined wide-ranging pioneers and fur-traders throughout. The remark might be added that only in the northern regions, where practically all the native tribes, both Algonkian and Athapaskan, show the territorial division among hunters as a fundamental trait of procedure, do we find white trappers adopting the custom. While it accords completely with the efficient arrangement of the Hudson's Bay Company and other legitimate and conservational trading concerns throughout the entire north, it would probably be wrong to deny that the policy was originally derived from the Indians themselves and built upon their economic methods.

Hence the Pamunkey custom becomes worthy of being regarded as somewhat more authentically native in its conception, evidently being an old Algonkian heritage which, like other vagrant practices recorded among the aberrant southern branches of the family, has earned, through its practicability, the right to survive two culture pressures—a southern agricultural contact in the purely Indian

period of history, and later the holoclastic European culture impact.

In respect to the antiquity of the hunting-grounds division at Pamunkey, we have very little documentary testimony beyond the records preserved among the papers of the chief and council which I have consulted. These show decisively that the assignment of hunting plots, the same in boundaries as those now recognized, goes back as far as the early part of the last century.

In the above account I have attempted to convey the impression of the whole development as progress was made in acquiring and coördinating the information concerning hunting grounds at Pamunkey. It might be added that my experience here was rather similar to that which I recall in working with the nomadic hunters of the far north. Some months elapsed before I became aware that regulations existed in the Pamunkey band. Slowly the matter came to light after several months' contact, during which time frequent hunting and trapping excursions had been made with one of the proprietors. My impression is at present fairly positive that the Powhatan tribes, like their Algonkian kindred farther north, operated their hunting industry on a general plan of segregation and privilege. So henceforth in our survey of American economic features the Powhatan culture area deserves to be indicated in a fairly well-established light as having possessed a sporadic form of the hunting-territory institution,

to an extent certainly as positive as has been shown only recently for the northern California peoples. We may wonder if some vestiges may not yet be found among records pertaining to the Delawares beyond what MacLeod has produced.

### HUNTING CUSTOMS

The marsh and swamp area of tidewater Virginia is extensive. For many miles both banks of the rivers are bordered by lowlands, which are inundated by the tides. In nearly all the rivers this occurs as far as 60 to 70 miles from Chesapeake bay. Some of these tracts are marshy flats covered with a growth of dock, rushes, and cattails. Others are overgrown with virgin forests of cypress, swamp oak, swamp gum, maple, and red birch. In the picturesque vernacular of the region such are called "low grounds." In some places the swamps extend continuously from one to three or four miles following the windings of the river, and reach from a quarter of a mile to a mile and a half back toward the higher ground. The swamps provide cover for considerable game, and it is in these fastnesses that the Pamunkey of today, as they did of old, pass much of the time in gaining a livelihood. The marsh flats provide feeding and roosting grounds for hosts of wild fowl which engage the attention of the Indians during the migration periods.

The Virginia deer have survived as the last of the big game on the Pamunkey river, and some old deer-



hunting practices have continued to the present time. The passing of the bear and beaver, however, dates back earlier than the memory of the living generations. Yet the bear lingers with surprising persistence in the Great Dismal Swamp on the line dividing Virginia from North Carolina. This imposing wilderness, however, is too far from the haunts of the Pamunkey for them to know much about it in these days, though the Nansamond Indians, inhabiting its western and northern margins, have something to offer in respect to bear hunting. We may infer some similarity to have marked such practices among the different town-tribes of the Powhatan area. The bears of the Dismal Swamp hibernate for only a short period, if at all; some say for about six weeks. They secrete themselves in large hollow trees to sleep. In the fall and early winter the Nansamond seek to kill them because they are fat. The bears resort to the gum groves in the swamp to fatten on gum berries. They may there be heard at a considerable distance breaking off the branches. Then the hunters approach closer stage by stage, moving forward when the animal is unable to hear them because of the stir he himself is creating. The Nansamond, however, like to search for the hibernating bears, as, incidentally, do most of the Algonkians. This tribe undoubtedly has some reliquary customs and beliefs concerned with bear hunting still to be recorded. To my own knowledge they have the custom of cutting off a

bear's foot and fastening it over the house door; one reason being as a luck-trophy. Another interesting hunting practice is remembered by Nansa-mond—wolf trapping by means of a pit. We turn back, however, to the characteristics of Pamunkey life; the other is for separate treatment.

So much do the marshes and swamps engage the attention of the natives that they may be safely said to furnish the influencing factor in the economic life of the Chesapeake tribes. I shall have occasion shortly to refer to the Indians' familiarity with the conditions of mud which surround them on every side in their hunting and fishing occupations. The common geographical features of eastern Virginia really have to be understood before the ethnology of the tidewater tribes can be evaluated. It might be added that in the opinion of the Indians there has been a slight sinking of some of the river flats within memory. Today Cherrycook marsh, a few miles above the reservation, is a "duck and fur" marsh, where at high tide a canoe can be shoved with a pole. This condition extends back some 30 years. Estimating from facts obtained by Chief Cook, one concludes that about 1820 the same land was dry and was cultivated in wheat and corn by the father of Dr. John Braxton, a planter who owned this land.

I might repeat that hunting is still a part of the daily occupation of most of the Pamunkey men, whether or not they be the proprietors of the rented

portions of the swamp. The daily fare is derived largely from the chase in one form or another. In the fall, winter, and spring almost every day wild meat is consumed on the reservation. The hunters are abroad during the early morning hours either in the swamp to pick up muskrats, raccoons, or opossums, or on the river to get chance shots at ducks. Subsequent to these early-morning excursions they lie about the house and rest until nearly noon, while the women are dressing and cooking the meat. Then comes the noonday meal, the first real one of the day. Time has indeed brought little change in the eating habits of these Indians, and, we might also infer, in their domestic habits.

The numerous and far-flung ox-bows of the tidal rivers bounding the marshes and swamps make the distances by river much greater than by land. For instance, the distance from Pamunkey town to West Point, which lies at the junction of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers, is nine miles by land, but following the windings of the river it is more than thirty. The windings of the Mattaponi just across from the Pamunkey are correspondingly tortuous. From West Point again to the Mattaponi Indian town it is twenty-three miles by river, but ten by land. The Mattaponi is navigable for small tugs, and a small freight and passenger steamer, the *Louise*, plies a route twice a week for forty-two miles. The configuration of this whole region is admirably shown on Captain Smith's chart of 1612. It is

actually still serviceable for the navigation of the Mattaponi river. By comparison with recent Government charts, every bend, every marsh, and even the location of the early village-sites marked on

Smith's map can be ascertained.



FIG. 50.—View in swamp along Pamunkey river site near Uttamussak, at Romancoke station.

In gaining their subsistence upon these extensive lowlands the ancient Indians are credited, through tradition, with having effected some physical changes in the country which are not a little interesting since no other record of

such achievements seems to have appeared in print. These are the canals, or "thoroughfares," as they are yet called, some still in existence and pointed out as having been conceived and dug by the aborigines. The value of one of



these ditches cut across some marshy neck where the river doubles on its course may well be appreciated by any one journeying by water through the country. For instance, at Cohoke "low-ground," just below the present reservation, there is a short ditch cutting across a narrow strip of marsh, believed to have been done by the Indians.



FIG. 51.—Scene in swamp hunting grounds on Chickahominy river.

This thoroughfare shortens the distance not less than five miles in ascending or descending the Pamunkey river. It remains in use today, without modification or enlargement at the hands of the whites, according to local statement. There is a similar one at Hills marsh, lower down the river, opposite the site of Old Uttamussak where Powhatan had his sanctuary. This thoroughfare is

marked on Smith's map. It is now much obstructed, though still open to canoes. In one of the accounts of his exploration Smith referred to this short-cut which he thought to be of natural origin.

It would be interesting to investigate these artificial works, if all of them are such, to ascertain their origin. Similar ditches and log bridges, evidently the beginning of engineering enterprise among the Indians of the region, occur at other points in the Chesapeake area, and even on the Eastern Shore in the Nanticoke country.

I have mentioned the Pamunkey necessity of knowing how to manage themselves when obliged to proceed over areas of mud. The Indian hunter of the Chesapeake country operates in a region where, without experience in judging the supporting quality of mud and knowing how to wade or crawl in it, he would be lost. When hunting, the Indians sometimes become stranded on a marshy island separated from the shore by mud-bars; or, to secure game that has been brought down, it may be necessary to wade a hundred feet through mire of unknown depth. Or still, in making their hunting excursions in marshes or swamps at some distance from their boats, a lagoon, or "gut," showing only a surface of brown slimy mud, may have to be traversed to reach one of the deadfall sets. Even to render aid to some less experienced sportsman, mired perhaps to the armpits, the art of self-navigation in mud is essential. The Indians recognize two kinds of mud—the

moderately firm and the "floating" mud. The former may be traversed by an experienced man if care is taken not to allow the weight of the body to remain more than an instant upon each leg, not to put the foot straight downward in the mud, but to proceed on flexed lower limbs, the weight carried on the shins. Should the mud be softer, of the floating variety, it may be necessary to advance prone on the belly in "turtle fashion." Movement must be continuous lest the body settle too deep to be worked loose. Children at an early age learn this art. They help their parents retrieve ducks which have been shot out on the mud-flats. In short, the tidewater Indians throughout grow up with such experience at their elbows.

Captain John Smith in his day observed the expertness of the Indians in traversing the mire:<sup>1</sup>

The Indians seeing me pestred in the Ose, called to me: six or seven of the Kings chiefe men threw off their skins, and to the middle in Ose, came to bear me out on their heads. Their importunacie caused me better to like the Canow than their curtesie, excusing my deniall for feare to fall into the Ose: desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats to cover me, and I would content them. Each presently gave his helpe to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scarce have indured: yet a couple of bells richly contented them.

The Emperor sent his Seaman Mantivas in the evening with bread and victuall for me and my men: he no more scrupulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing

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<sup>1</sup> Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, op. cit., p. 58.

how little he regarded that miserable cold and durty passage, though a dogge would scarce have endured it.

Besides stalking the deer to kill them, the Virginia Indians seem to have resorted extensively to the drive. One of the earliest references to the customs of these tribes is the description of a drive by the Pamunkey in Chickahominy swamp, on which eventful occasion Captain Smith was surprised and taken captive. Three hundred men were supposed by him to form the company. We also hear of employing fire in conjunction with the deer drive, a custom in itself suggestive of southern influence. The deer drive as practised by the Indian remnants in the state today, and their white neighbors as well, is as follows:

The party of hunters is divided into two crews. One is to occupy boats at stations in the river where they are to wait for the deer to be driven out of the swamp to be shot, the other is obliged to plunge into the swamp with dogs and drive the game toward the river where the animals will be intercepted in their traverse. The method of selection, to be impartial, is as follows: To assign the crews their appointed tasks, the chief or captain holds in his hand as many sticks as there are men on the drive. Half of the sticks are shorter than the others. Each man then draws a stick. Those drawing the "shorts" may remain in the boats, while those drawing the "longs" are to form the driving party.



It need hardly be added that the Pamunkey deer hunt is an exciting and noisy event.

Deer are fairly abundant in the "low grounds" up and down the middle course of Pamunkey river. For instance, at one place just below the reservation, known as Cohoke "low-ground," in the winter of 1922 when the river rose, more than thirty deer were seen in one day to swim the river, making for high land to escape the inundation of their haunts.

An event of importance is the annual deer drive at Pamunkey when the hunters secure the venison which they carry to the Governor's house in Richmond in fulfillment of their treaty obligations to furnish yearly tribute in the form of flesh, fur, feather, and scale. The Pamunkey are justly proud of the fact that they have performed this duty without a break since the adoption of the treaty between them and the General Assembly.

The episode of Captain Smith's capture and at the same time his description of the deer drive of that day are interesting enough to deserve reproduction.

At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly 2 or 300 together. Having found the Deare, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselves. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deare being thus feared by the fires and their voices, they chace them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They use also to drive them into some narrowe point of land, when they find that advantage, and so force them into the river,

where with their boats they have Ambuscadoes to kill them. . . .

In one of these huntings, they found Captaine Smith in the discoverie of the head of the river of Chickahamania, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire; where he saw those exercises, and these observations.<sup>1</sup>

Hunting the "sora" rail (*Porzana carolina* Linn.) in the autumn has been an important occupation among the river tribes of Virginia from time immemorial. In earlier days the birds appeared on the Pamunkey marshes in swarming flocks. Even now they are abundant enough to furnish a profitable pursuit to the natives during the periodic flights. The sora at these times cling to the brackish marshes. The old Pamunkey had, accordingly, a most interesting legendary belief, namely, that the sora arose from the marshes as metamorphosed frogs. And they know that the frogs develop from tadpoles. One of the reasons given for thinking the sora evolve from frogs is that the birds have partly webbed feet like the frogs. We may imagine, I suppose, that the nocturnal migrations of the bird have been responsible for ignorance of the actual conditions. A poetical fancy has associated the disappearance of the myriad croaking frogs from the marshes in the fall with the appearance of the myriads of birds during the season just following and filling the same places with their cries. They come about September 20th. As to the method of killing sora the old

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<sup>1</sup> Tyler, Narratives of Early Virginia, op. cit., p. 104.

native practice has with little modification survived until today. The birds roosting at night in their marshy domain are invaded by the hunters in canoes, poled with the long paddle. The boats carry a beacon light at the bow to "light up the marsh" and blind the birds so that they can be struck down



FIG. 52.—Chickahominy boy with "sora horses" of iron, used as beacons in the bows of canoes when killing sora, or rail-birds.

into the water from their perches on the stalks of the rushes or hit with the paddles as they fly in commotion toward the beacon. They are then gathered and piled into the boat. The beacon itself is an interesting object. Tradition says that the ancient sora beacon, which is called a "sora horse," was an openwork clay basket. One of these, made about 1893, is figured by Holmes in his ceramic

study.<sup>1</sup> In latter days the "sora horse" or fire-basket has been constructed of iron strips (fig. 52). The specimens shown are from the Chickahominy.

Pollard<sup>2</sup> says something about the custom of sora killing at Pamunkey in his day.

In the autumn sora are found in the marshes in great numbers. and the Indian method of capturing them is most interesting: They have what they strangely call a "sora horse," strongly resembling a peach basket in size and shape, and made of strips of iron, though they were formerly molded out of clay. The "horse" is mounted on a pole which is stuck in the marsh or placed upright in a foot-boat. A fire is then kindled in the "horse." The light attracts the sora and they fly around it in great numbers, while the Indians knock them down with long paddles. This method is, of course, used only at night.

The present Indians refer to sora hunting as "sorassin." This term is most interesting because it may be a corrupt derivation from the native Indian term. The final element (-assin) occurs in Massachusetts Algonkian *wikwassin* which denotes fishing by torchlight. The very name *sora* itself is a puzzle. Undoubtedly its origin too is Indian, though whether it comes from the tidewater Algonkian term or from some other southern language it would be difficult to say merely through an attempt to etymologize the word.

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<sup>1</sup> Holmes in *Twentieth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, pl. CXXXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Pollard, op. cit., p. 15.



The Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Chickahominy hunt in the swamps along the rivers by stalking raccoon, opossum, and muskrat for their meat and fur, mink and otter for fur alone. Rabbits, wild turkeys, doves, quail, meadow-larks, robins, flickers, cedar-birds, snow-birds, and even the "bull-bat" or night hawk are hunted and eaten.

The business of trapping is, however, most interesting to us because the old-fashioned Indian deadfall is yet almost exclusively operated. The reason for its survival in competition with steel spring-traps is that the hunters have been convinced of the

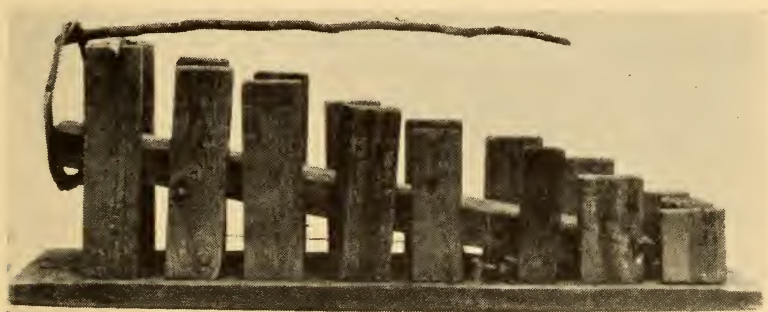


FIG. 53.—Pamunkey trap. Length, 33 in. (14/9062)

superiority of the old-style fall which does not rust, which costs nothing, and which kills and holds the animal without tearing its hide or allowing it a chance to gnaw off its foot and escape. Raccoons, opossums, and muskrats are regularly taken in the stationary deadfalls, which are permanently built

at places where the animals come to the water to wash their food or to forage. Some of the deadfalls pointed out today are known to have been constructed not long after the Civil War. Their "pens" are still intact. Again, many of the deadfall sites are known to have been occupied continuously since those days. Caked with mud at low tide, it seems

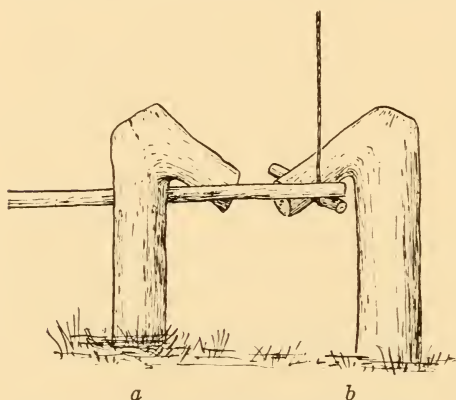


FIG. 54.—Detail of trigger of Pamunkey trap (*a*, inside; *b*, outside).

that the timbers are almost indestructible. Figs. 47 and 48 show the situation of several of these along Great creek on hunting ground number 3 at Pamunkey (see page 315). Figs. 53 and 54 show the plan of construction of the

Pamunkey deadfall. It corresponds precisely with what is employed among all the river tribes of the tidewater country.

Several outdoor practices surviving from the serious days of hunting and fishing portray the customs of old Pamunkey life. For instance, when overtaken abroad by night through any of the mischances which are apt to impede them while traveling on the river, they have resorted to the stems of wild honeysuckle for fire-kindling material. No matter

how wet the weather, and it is nearly always wet or humid in the Virginia low country, a blaze may be started with these stems. Their use corresponds to the highly inflammable birch-bark used by the northern Algonkians at all times in the camps. Some folklore clusters about fire-making. They have taught themselves not to burn sassafras or grape-vine either indoors or out, the reason being that they fear something will happen to their livestock, although what the connection is we are unable even to imagine. The hearth must not be cleaned after dark. The fire-logs may be pushed together, but not turned, to make them flame. A crackling fire in winter denotes snow for the ensuing day. When soot, accumulating on the chimney-back, sparkles and glows, making what the white settlers called "chimney lice," the Powhatan say, "Fresh meat will be had tomorrow." This sign is believed in by all the Virginia bands.



FIG. 55.—Dried fungus growth kept in the cabin by a Mattaponi as a charm. Width,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. (9/7743)

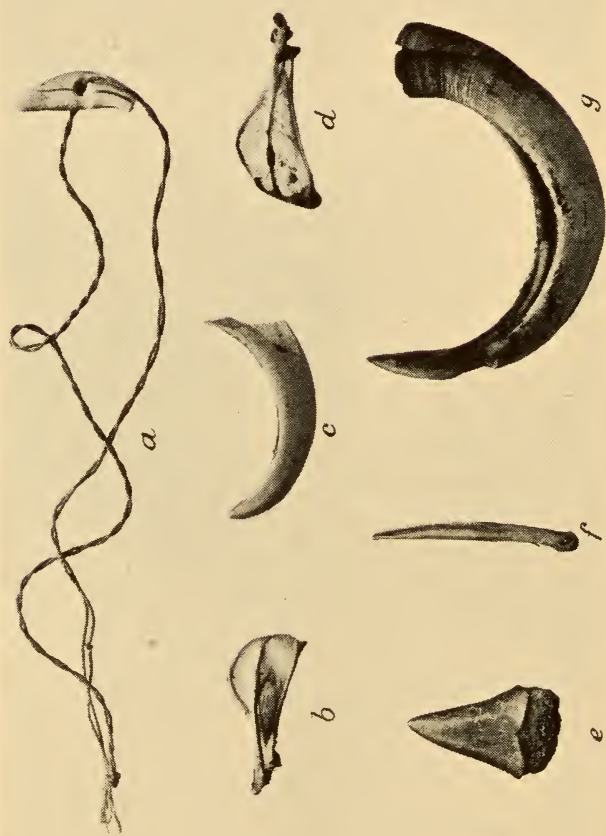


FIG. 56.—*a*, Pamunkey dog-tooth charm worn by teething children. *b*, *d*, Muskrat scapulæ used by the Mattaponi as a charm. *c*, Animal tooth used by the Pamunkey as a charm. *e*, Fossil shark's tooth used as a charm by the Mattaponi. *f*, Metacarpal of a deer used by the Mattaponi as a charm. *g*, Hog's tooth used as a health charm by the Mattaponi. (9/7775, 7776; 10/5699)



The Pamunkey know well the old custom, so widespread among the Algonkians, of sharing the first game killed by a little boy among the father's friends. The boy moreover was not supposed to partake of the meat of his first game. The tusk of a boar is considered worth preserving as a fetish to produce strength. The penis-bones of the raccoon and mink are also kept to insure luck to hunters, and the metacarpal bone of the deer serves a similar function as it does among the more northerly Algonkian hunters.

The bows used by the Virginia tribes of early times are described as made of witch-hazel. At present this is not known to the descendants, though bows of hickory and oak, from three and a half to five feet long, are not uncommon. Information shows that the "sap-wood," not the heart, of the white cedar was also used. Bows are sometimes square in cross-section, sometimes convex on the inside and flat on the outside, with pointed ends. Frequently the middle third of the bow staff is thicker than the outer

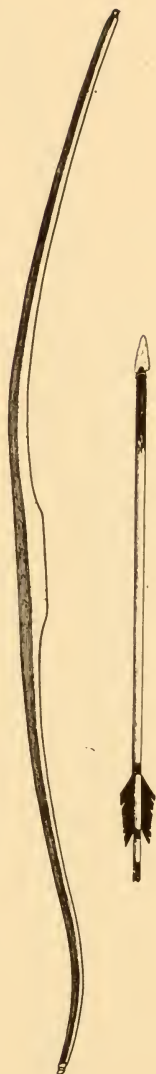


FIG. 57.—Pamunkey bow and stone-pointed arrow. Length of bow, 59 in.; of arrow, 31 in. (10/6562, 6563)

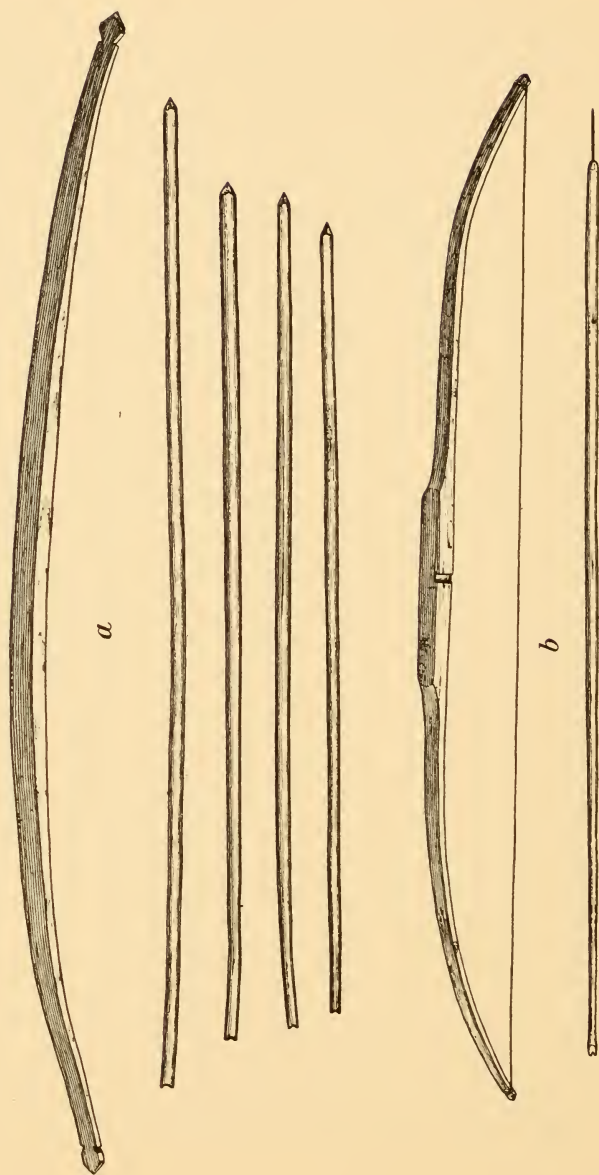


FIG. 58.—Pamunkey bow and arrows (*a*), and Mattaponi bow and arrow (*b*).

thirds, which form is called "buzzard wing," suggested by fancied resemblance to a buzzard in flight. Arrowshafts of "arrow-wood" cut from natural twigs, as of old, are still known,

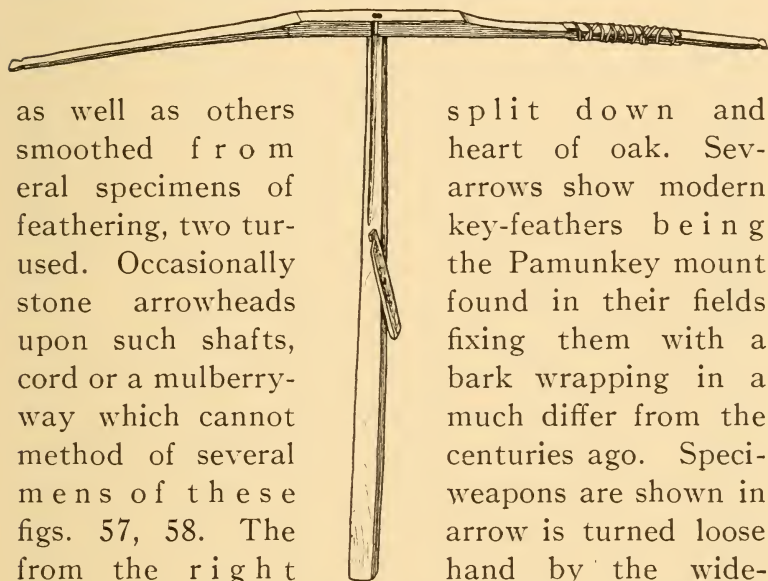


FIG. 59.—  
Mattaponi  
cross-bow.  
Length of bow,  
32 in. (9/7749)

as well as others smoothed from several specimens of feathering, two tur-used. Occasionally stone arrowheads upon such shafts, cord or a mulberry-way which cannot method of several mens of these figs. 57, 58. The from the right

split down and heart of oak. Sev-arrows show modern key-feathers being the Pamunkey mount found in their fields fixing them with a bark wrapping in a much differ from the centuries ago. Speci-weapons are shown in arrow is turned loose hand by the wide-

spread Algonkian primary release. Passing reference should be made to the cross-bow in the Virginia tide-water area where its introduction by Europeans among the Indians of colonial times parallels what happened northward as far as the Montagnais-Nascapi. The Virginia Indian type of this curious toy is shown in fig. 59. It is reported among the mixed Indian groups as far south as the Carolinas.



FIG. 60.—Pamunkey warclub of the "ball-head" type (broken). Length, 23 in. (10/5684)

A tradition is related by the Mattaponi concerning the poisoning of arrowheads by their ancestors. It is said by Powhatan Major there that the stone arrowheads with a flat side, and especially those with corrugated edges, were intended to carry a poison made from rattlesnake venom-glands mixed into a paste. The corrugated arrowheads of white quartz answering to this requirement are rela-

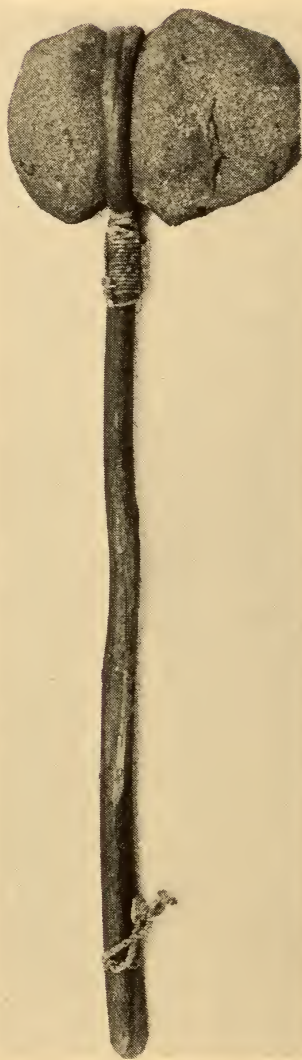


FIG. 61.—Mattaponi hafted stone tomahawk. Length, 20½ in. (9/7769)



tively abundant in the tidewater region. While traditions of former economic properties should not be totally ignored, one feels nevertheless highly skeptical about their sources.

*A Pamunkey Turkey-hunt*

By way of diversion from the unenlivened processes of pure ethnological description, a scene from the work of a day of one of the hunters (Paul Miles) will convey a picture of life at Pamunkey and help to give a background for an understanding of living conditions.

A chilly northwest wind is blowing down the Pamunkey late in the afternoon when we leave the village facing the rays of the setting sun, and embark in Paul's canoe, paddling toward the mouth of a sinuous lagoon called Great creek. This flows out of the big swamp at the western end of the territory which the Pamunkey still call their own. Its fastnesses of swamp-gum, magnolia, and swamp-oak at high tide are flooded with the coffee-colored waters of the river. At low tide, which here drops between two and three feet, the turbid waters leave a tangle of roots and hummocks of indescribable muddy congealation in tussocks some eight or ten feet across, from the top of which rise clusters of gums, oaks, and other trees. Some of their trunks tower fifty to sixty feet above the muddy floor of the swamp, while a thicker but lower growth shuts off the swamper's view beyond a distance of twenty feet. In this

memorable and gloomy vaulted fastness of malaria, tenanted only by the creatures of solitude, the Pamunkey hunters have pursued the chase for many centuries. Wild turkeys, the noblest of game birds, ducks, the bald-eagle, geese, deer, raccoons, opossums, otter, mink, muskrat have survived generations of keen trappers. Their ranks have ever been recruited from the flocks of birds and mammals which still make their periodic visits, one might almost say migrations, through the tidewater region. The great blue heron, the white young of the more southerly herons, and most numerous and omnipresent of all, the great barred owl are the permanent denizens of these dank recesses. When we leave the open river with its cheerful ripples lapping the sides of our canoe, and the gray clouds banked in the sky now to the east over the Chesapeake, the "great salt water" of the Indians, we convert our paddles into poles and poke our way over mud bars into Great creek, at each prod loosening a swirl of reddish mud which rises ever thicker through the opaque current and now and then sending ahead in muddy ripples some fish that is startled by our advance into his roily domain. A smell of saturated mud, drenched dead wood and moldy leaves comes to us as the gas bubbles rise to the surface when released by our shoving-paddles.

As the tide is low, the whole floor of the swamp is carpeted in places with sodden sedge grass, while everywhere lie matted leaves coated with dried

brown mud. Brown is the dominant color: brown are the tree trunks, marked distinctly to the high-tide level; brown is the glazed mud and ooze, and glassy water in here where no wind strikes it. Two or three bends of the lagoon carry us out of view of the river and the edge of the swamp. On all sides the drainways of the interior have cut through the floor, leading in slimy slopes to the edge of the water. Innumerable tracks of small animals are to be seen at each sluice—muskrat, mink, otter, with here and there one which the Pamunkey remarks in a whisper to be raccoon, and finally, farther in, those of turkey. The gun which has rested in the bow is now loaded and taken in hand ready for work as the guide, now aroused to the importance of his task, plies his long oak paddle from the stern and forces the canoe over or around the mud-bars and ooze-shoals which are left nude and brown for three hours more before these inland tides will again cover them. "Now if you see anything jump up, I want you to cut him down." "I will," I whisper in reply. Only the drip of a dozen drops from the evenly swaying pole-paddle announces our entrance into the solitude. How busy the Pamunkey hunters are in their swampy domain, when at every bend we see one of their deadfalls for mink, coon, and otter, now soaked, mud-coated, and weed-clogged as they are exposed by the ebb tide. "All right," I whisper again as the steersman gives a "shiver" from his seat in the stern, the Pamunkey way of saying without

words, "Watch closely, something moving!" A distant rustle of twigs on the right in a gum cluster is the first cause of alarm. I "shiver" once in my seat in response and he turns the canoe with a silent shove to the right so as to throw me about facing the noise, lest in giving a sudden shot I upset the canoe. What will it prove to be, a deer aroused, or will a turkey burst away? A furtive rustle, a noisy flutter, and a white-throated sparrow pops into view with a piquant air; flutters loudly enough, it seems, to disturb the silence of the swamp, and we resume our stealthy passage into another arm whose slimy banks rise several feet on both sides. Here the creek is hardly more than fifteen feet wide. On both sides are the *ski·'tʒnʒs*, the "red berries" in the Pamunkey dialect, upon which the turkeys feed. On all the water-gums are showing small isolated berries. These likewise furnish food for the turkeys. While the Pamunkey have completely forgotten their native tongue, it is not surprising to find that in their natural-history and hunting vocabulary some last Indian words survive.

Another "shiver" from the steersman warns me again of game detected. At the same instant a form moves on the horizontal branch of a monster gum-tree whose roots form a vault of mud-coated columns leading to its massive buttress. "Let him have it!" No, it is only the spirit of the swamp, the barred-owl, which now turns his ogreish head about and drops off to another rampike in noiseless flight.



Five minutes later we hear his vacant *whoo-oo* farther off, and an answer from his mate, still more filmy and remote, filling the mind with the sense of hush and distance. The sound is indeed fitting to the exotic atmosphere of the swamp. Now, as it is nearing sundown, we look for a motionless pool to stop in and listen from, to harken for the roosting calls of the hens or possibly to hear the rush of wings as the great birds fly to roost on some limb fifty feet above, where they will crane their necks in all directions for about twenty minutes before contracting their great bodies to the smallest compass, to simulate the knots on the gums, and tuck their heads under wings to sleep like any secure barnyard fowl. This is the critical time. Every sharpened sense of both hunters and turkeys is keyed to action. "There goes one!" A whisper and powerful "shiver" convey the observation. Too far away; he has bolted for some inaccessible thicket and we see no more of him.

Now it is to wait twenty minutes in our position while the Indian holds the canoe still by poking his pole-paddle into several feet of submarine mud. There is not a sound. Three or four birds fly high, probably woodpeckers; a distant hound's yelping proclaims another Indian somewhere on the move.

It is now time to turn back, as darkness sets in heavily with a penetrating damp that will even defy the strenuous paddling necessary when we emerge again upon the open river. The canoe

is swung around and the Indian poles her swiftly but silently along until the evening gleam on the horizon shows that we are nearing the edge of the swamp. We tarry and enter yet another draw to examine the high tree-tops for birds that may be roosted there, for at this darkening half-hour the birds are all off the ground. Several suspicious clumps turn out to be only knots, or gnarled lightning-blasted branches, or clusters of dense mistletoe.

Back to the river again, as the game is over for tonight. A crescent moon above the evening star is framed by bulky cloud masses. The wind has "lulled" and we make for the landing beach on the reservation shore where for generations Pamunkey hunters have likewise drawn up their canoes after having engaged in the same performance as that which we have just been through.

### *Turkey-calling*

In another method of turkey-hunting the Pamunkey resemble the eastern Algonkians in general; they call the game to them by imitating their cries. Although the deer are not known to be so dealt with, since they are attacked by the drive, the wild turkey being susceptible of imitation is successfully lured within range of the weapons of the concealed huntsmen. The turkey being possessed of gregarious inclinations is skilfully lured by an instrument, called a turkey "call" or "yelp," manipulated

with the lips and hands. The article so employed is a section of the secondary wing-bone of the bird itself. Sections of bone about five inches long are kept for this service (figs. 62, 63), though not infrequently a similar length of cane

(*Arundinaria*) is substituted, and I have collected a specimen of the same consisting of a four-inch section of hollow ash twig—in fact a pipe-stem.

Let us observe the procedure with John Denis, a Pamunkey hunter and guide of long experience.

Toward evening, going out into the oak and gum swamp where turkeys are known to be, a flock is finally flushed by the noise



FIG. 62.—Pamunkey bone turkey calls. Length of longest, 5.4 in. (10/5700, 5701)

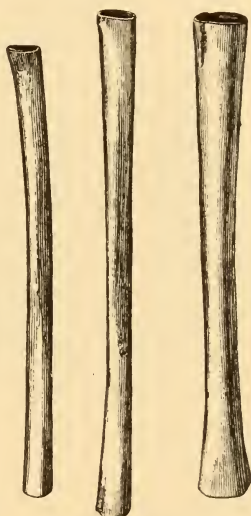


FIG. 63.—Mattaponi bone turkey calls. Length of the longest, 3.7 in. (9/7746)

of advance. The hunter remains quiet, it may be for half an hour. Soon a call, or "yelp," is heard from one of the birds of the dispersed flock calling the others together, and some of them answer.

The hunter then works noiselessly a few feet toward them, if possible. He crouches low behind the buttress of one of the big gum trees and tries a "yelp" with his wing-bone tube, his weapon close at



FIG. 64.—Pamunkey hunter demonstrating method of calling wild turkey with a wing-bone call.

hand. If he gets an answer he tries again in a minute, tuning his "yelp" to serve as a means of drawing the bird to him, by the seductive chirp repeated three times to the scattered birds, which means, "Here I am; where

are you?" Should he make the slightest break or mistake in his tone, the whole flock would be alarmed and tumultuously fly off. The enticed bird, however, is completely deceived and steps forward, cranes its neck to one side, then the other, clucks, and peeks cautiously for a suspicious movement in the direction of the call. Now is the critical moment to render



the call-tone in dulcet pathos. Bang! Off goes the flock into the heart of the swamp again.

### FISHING CUSTOMS

The Powhatan tribes still adhere to some fishing practices worth mentioning. Until not long ago fish fences were employed. These were chiefly for sturgeon, but now this splendid fish is so scarce that whereas thirty years ago from three to six a day during July and August would be taken, now the record is three a season by six boats fishing the same period. Captain John Smith mentions 52 and 68 being taken "at a draught."<sup>1</sup>

The Virginia explorers noted the great abundance of sturgeon, and we may imagine that the fish contributed largely to the abundance of food of the early Indians. The method employed in the construction of the fish-pond or "bush-net" is described by several of the men at Pamunkey and Mattaponi. At the entrance of the smaller creeks, or guts, branching off from the main streams there was built a barrier of poles several feet apart driven upright into the ever-present mud at low tide when the water is out of the place.

The "bush-nets" or "hedges" are well remembered by John Langston as having been worked by his father some seventy-five years ago. They were known and described among the neighboring Delawares and Nanticoke in early colonial times.

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<sup>1</sup> Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, op. cit., p. 85.

The "hedges" were made low enough in some instances so that the fish could pass over their tops at high tide. Then, as the water went out on the ebb, they would be barred from returning to the river (fig. 65). In the enclosures where the water might be from six to eight feet deep the hunters could shoot the impounded fish with arrows or spear them with iron-pointed prongs. In the deep holes the sturgeon caught by the "hedges" were hooked with a jig-hook. They would sometimes jump the barrier. "Hedging" was more practicable near the headwaters of the rivers, frequently above tidewater.

Each man had his own enclosure. They were generally about a mile apart. Two or three men would combine and work together as partners in the enclosures. The crews respected each other's rights of ownership. Then sometimes they would move their "hedges" a mile or so up or down stream, all the crews shifting at the same time. The reason for this change is given as growing out of an idea that they could do better by it. A final word of description adds the information that the lattice-work of the "hedges" was so constructed as to slope upstream. I might add that similar weirs may be seen in the streams of the Cherokee country. In that region stones are available for construction and are used in the wings of the dam, the trap of slats being set at an opening where the fish are obliged to pass. In the Powhatan area, however, no stones suitable for such a purpose exist.

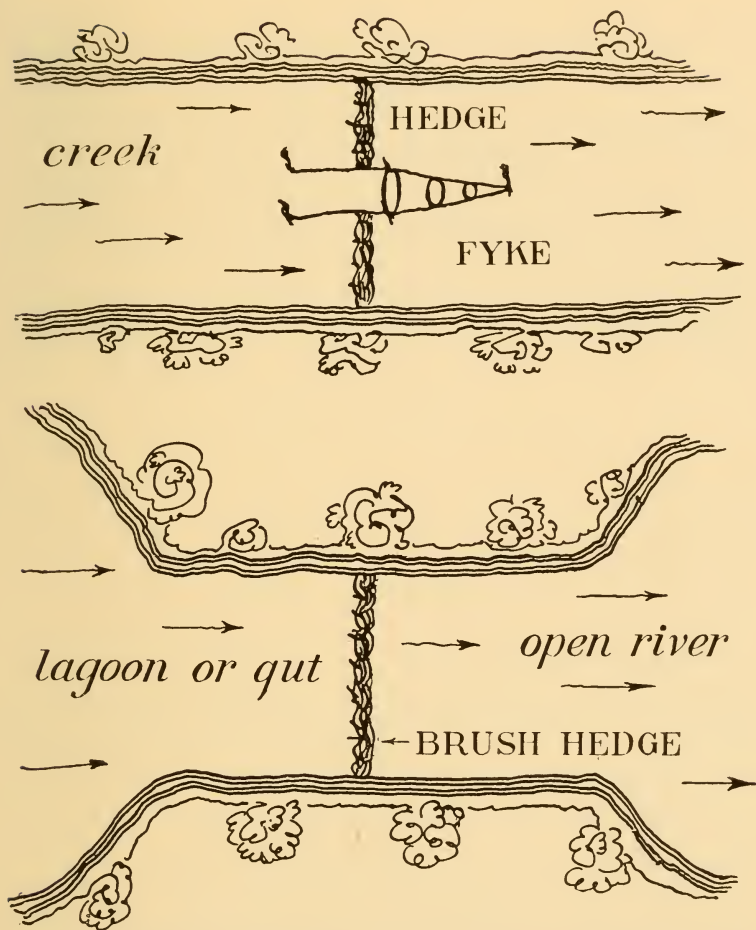


FIG. 65.—Outline of plan of Pamunkey bush-fences on creek and lagoon to entrap fish.

For several generations shad fishing has been an important industry among the tidewater Indians. It is, indeed, one of their principal harvests. Easter time is the height of the shad season with them. At



FIG. 66.—Pamunkey fishermen returning from their nets.

Pamunkey they have a belief that the shad arrive in the river at the time when the white violet blooms; hence they have the name "shad-flower" for it. Drift seines are employed in the same way as among the white people. Day and night the seines are tended by the men who bivouac in camp huts of boards along the shore. For several weeks many of them are not home for a night's sleep.

The seines at night are provided with board floats at each end carrying a lighted lantern. By this their position is known when it is thought time to haul them. Six or seven seines with their lights riding on the river, the seiners' campfire on the shore, and the somber wooded swamps on both sides make an impressive picture on an April night. The great barred owls call forth the quarter, half, and full tides, so the Indians of all the Virginia tribes say and



believe. This saying can well be accredited with a basis of truth, for it is a rare hour when one or more of the resounding human-like series of whoops does not echo from the swamp, so loud that it rises above all other sounds of the night.

Herring also form a spring catch of importance. These fish are looked for when the locust and the dogwood commence to bloom. Among not only the Pamunkey, but among the other river tribes, the Mattaponi and Chickahominy, the same natural signs are consulted for the timing of industry. For instance, they believe that eels may be more profitably caught in the full of the moon. Among the Pamunkey a fondness for catfish in the form of stew



FIG. 67.—Mattaponi shad fishermen landing on the shore below the village.



FIG. 68.—Pamunkey fisherman poling a boat to visit set-lines. Swamp hunting grounds in the distance.

is increased by a belief that it stimulates sexual desires. Nothing could exceed their relish for it. The same belief is current among the other tribes, as well as the negroes, of the region.

Although I have fished all the different methods with the three river tribes just mentioned and have persistently inquired among the older people, nothing more than the tradition of catching fish by poison has been encountered. The poisoning method so well known and widely distributed among the southeastern tribes, especially the Muskogi, may have been employed in Virginia too, but there is no definite allusion to it in the records. The reason for

this may be found to have a basis in the physiography of the country. Being subject to a two- or three-foot tidal inundation, the rivers of the Virginia coastal plain do not furnish suitable permanent pools in which the fish poison may be distributed. Moreover, the fish supply is so abundant and varied that other methods are more expeditious and productive. A review of the poisoning practice, I believe, will show that its distribution in the southeast is limited to freshwater river regions. This topic is, at any rate, about ripe for investigation.

Fish shooting with the bow and arrow is well remembered among the older Pamunkey and Mattaponi. The bow is the usual article; the arrow, the "arrow-wood" shaft tipped with a ferrule point.



FIG. 69.—Chickahominy fishermen hauling a shad seine.

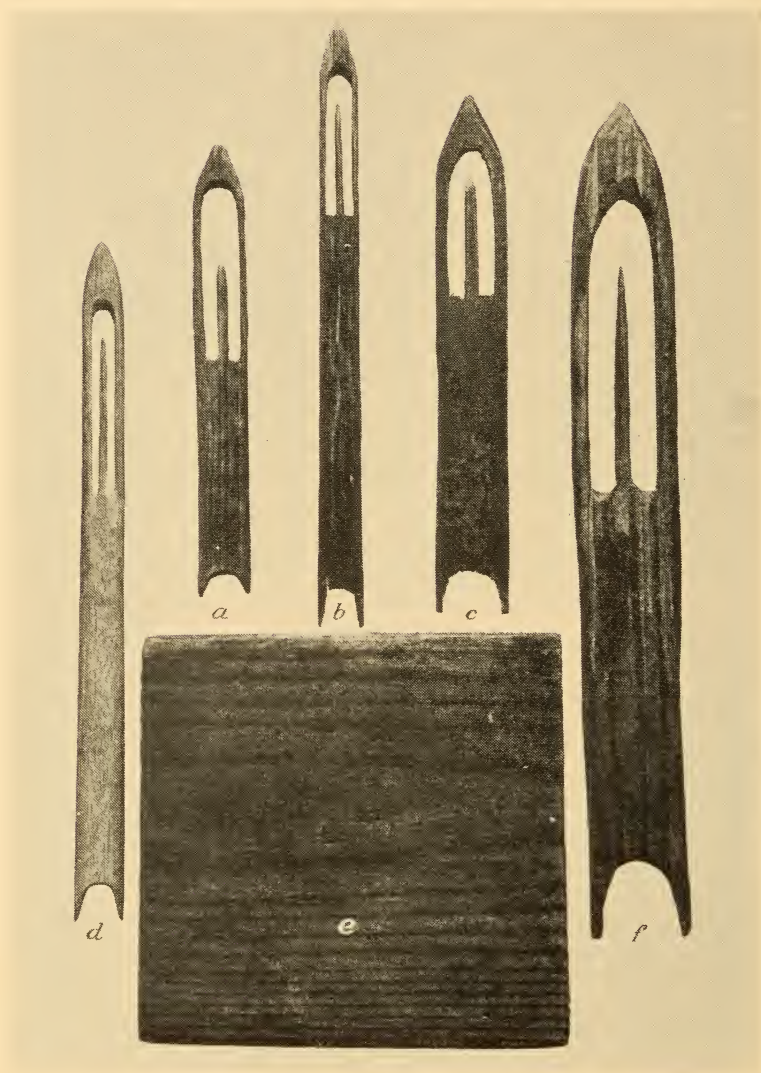


FIG. 70.—Pamunkey netting needles and net gauge. Length of *f*,  $12\frac{1}{4}$  in. (10/5686)



No string, however, was in recent times attached to the arrow, as was the case among some of the more southerly people who relied upon the string to pull out the fish when struck. Captain Smith in 1612 mentioned the natives shooting fish with arrows tied by a line.<sup>1</sup>

At Pamunkey the fish-hunter goes down to one of the ponds or tidal pools toward evening where he finds the "cow fish" or "stiff-backed perch" guarding their young so the other fish will not eat them, and shoots them from the bank. Fish-shooting is a typical southern practice and may be regarded as one of the southeastern acculturations of the Virginia Algonkians.

While hand-made nets have been completely superseded by the nets of commerce, there is still abundant reason for the preservation of the netting technique in this region. Repairing or "hanging" is constantly required, and then there are some of the poorer fishermen who are occasionally obliged to make their own nets. From a number of the eastern tribal remnants the usual tongued netting-needle of the European pattern has been collected and studied by Hallowell. The netting implements at Pamunkey and Mattaponi (figs. 70, 71) are practically identical with those of the eastern Algonkians now from North Carolina to Labrador. Those illustrated here show the different-sized needles employed in making nets for use with varying kinds of fish, the

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<sup>1</sup> Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, op. cit., p. 102.

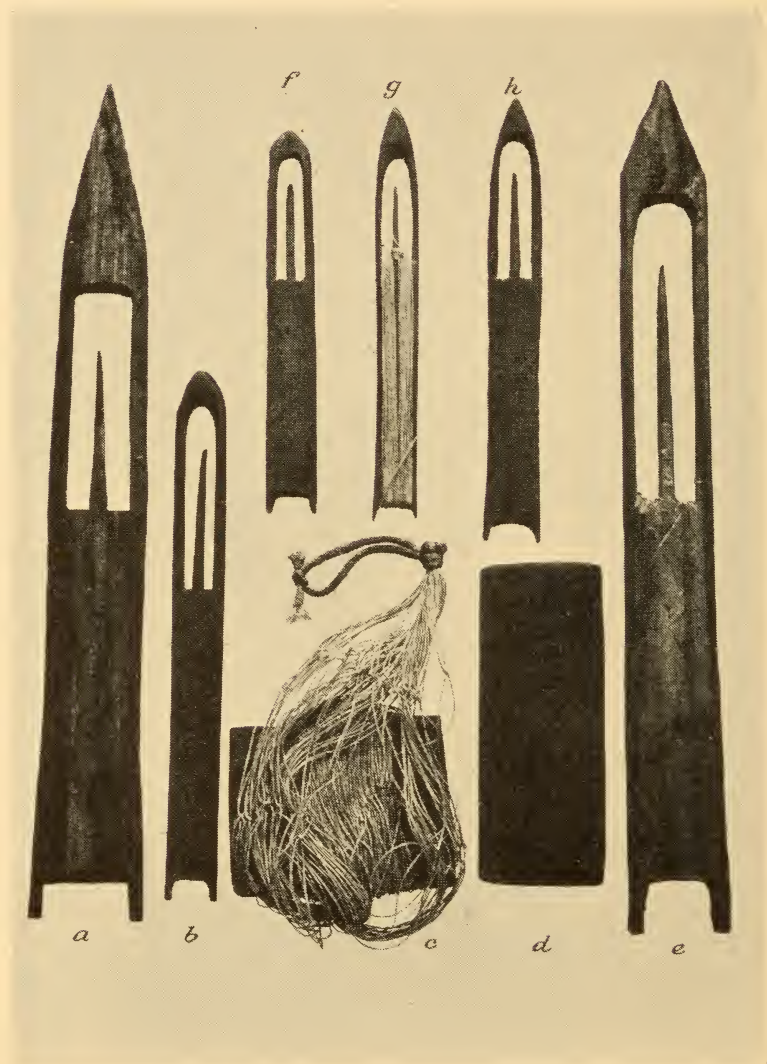


FIG. 71.—Mattaponi netting needles and net gauge. Length of *a* and *e*, 12 in. (9/7760, 7761)

largest one for sturgeon nets, the others for shad and herring seines. The measuring blocks, too (figs. 70, *e*; 71, *c*, *d*), are in correspondence with those of the general area. I need only add the expected statement that the universal "becket knot" is employed. While the use of seines has been the principal method in recent years, the Indians seem to think that it was introduced by the English.<sup>1</sup> The so-called net-

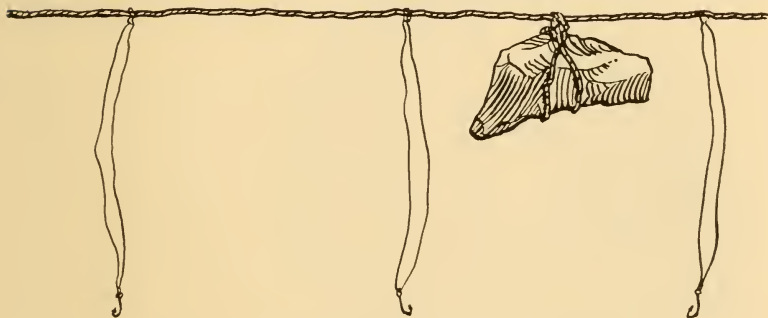


FIG. 72.—Pamunkey "set-line" for catfish.

sinkers are not found on these rivers at all. This is significant. The Powhatan undoubtedly could and did make small nets for use in the hand or with pole handles. The net topic among the eastern Algonkians is, however, under treatment at the hands of Hallowell.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nets for fishing made of native vegetal twine were referred to by the early explorers. See Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hallowell's memoir, *The Problem of Fish-nets in North America*, will appear in this series in the near future.

A general practice of using set-lines (fig. 72) for catfish is followed by practically all the men on the reservations at Pamunkey and Mattaponi. The lines are of heavy cord, 250 to 300 feet long. At distances of 18 inches apart are tied the hooks on string leaders 12 inches in length. At intervals



FIG. 73.—Mattaponi net float of pine-bark.  
Extreme diameter,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. (10/5739)

along the set-line stone sinkers are tied. In this case just natural, rough, square-edged stones from the shore are taken. One end of the set-line is attached to a stout pole stuck into the mud bottom, and the other rides the surface tied to a bottle. By

this means the set-line is kept in one place where the catfish are obliged to pass following the channel. The stone sinkers keep the line on the bottom where the catfish feed, and the floating end of the line allows ample play for the tides. The hooks are baited with cut-up minnows. Generally the bait is renewed



every other day. At each average haul of such a line 60 to 100 catfish are taken. Oftentimes mussels attach themselves to the bait and are brought up. Then the fisherman takes them home to be made into stew. The fisherman's task is vigorous and varied. About every other evening he is obliged to haul a small minnow seine to replenish the bait. He takes up his set-line early in the morning, removing the captured fish and rebaiting at the same time.

It takes about two hours to "haul and bait" the two set-lines that each fisherman operates. While the canoe tosses and lurches, when the wind is high and the waves are raised by wind against tide, it is difficult to hold it to the line with the hands employed on the hooks. So a nail is driven into the

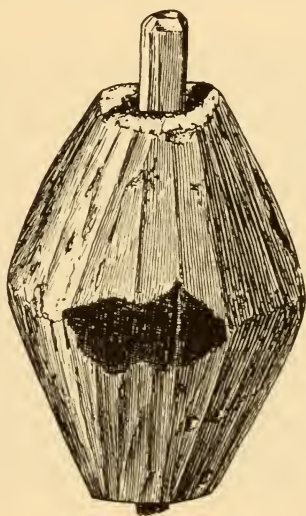


FIG. 74.—Pamunkey fishline float. Length, 2.4 in. (11/385)

gunwale and the set-line run over it as it is passed along, keeping the canoe and line together while the hauling and baiting are accomplished. Like the Algonkians in general, the Pamunkey is essentially a river-man.

The fishing customs of the Pamunkey should not be passed over without reference to an interesting

habit of some of the women in preferring to scale their shad with a stone scraper instead of a metal knife—a custom of survival from their stone age. Specimens obtained from old fish-houses and one still in use by the wife of Chief Cook are shown in fig. 76. Mrs. Cook had found hers at an old house-



FIG. 75.—Fossil vertebra used by Mattaponi fishermen as a charm. Height, 4 in. (9/7742)

site. The claim is made that these implements remove scales without cutting flesh or fingers.

During practically the whole year the tidewater tribes draw upon the river for their food supply. Shad, drum, roach, perch, gar, catfish, eels, formerly sturgeon, oysters, and of recent years carp and yellow catfish, abound in Pamunkey

and Mattaponi rivers. In both bands there are sayings in reference to the river as a food supply. At Mattaponi it is said, "The river is the Indian's smoke-house; it is open all the time except for a short period in winter," meaning when it is frozen. From Pamunkey comes also, "If the smoke-house doors get shut, I'll go away

for a few days," meaning, "If the river freezes over with ice, I can't fish, so I'll go away for a trip." These are muddy rivers, while the Chickahominy is a clear-water stream, and so lacks catfish noticeably but contains black bass, which attract many sportsmen. The men of all the tribes of the group, in fact, are constantly employed as fishing and hunting guides.



FIG. 76.—Stone blades used by Pamunkey for scraping scales from fish. The largest are  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in. long. (10/5716, 5727)

We hear through local tradition of occasional porpoises seen in the Mattaponi river, but no account is forthcoming of their pursuit. And it is also worth mentioning, perhaps, that the Indians here say that a whale actually entered York river and was seen off Yorktown. We may accordingly imagine that in the past the natives occasionally indulged in a

whale feast upon some stranded monster, as do so many of the maritime Algonkians.

### CANOES

The means provided by the Powhatan tribes for transporting themselves about in these marshy wastes was the dugout canoe. No other type of canoe can be ascribed to the southern Virginia culture area, even though Beverley in 1722 figured one of bark as though it were a product of the country. The only explanation of this error is that he credited the Virginia tribes with having what other tribes had, or that a bark canoe had strayed by trade into the tidewater area. The canoe in his sketch is labeled "birch bark canoe." This would have been an impossibility for the Virginia tribes, since the canoe-birch does not range on the coast as a native tree much below New England. It was not unusual for early writers to describe Indian life in general terms and to apply the description to special areas. Even the Jesuits occasionally did it.

Turning now to the dugout canoe, we encounter an interesting field. Their manufacture and use have ended only with the last generation; so we have first-hand knowledge of details of make and use. Several hulks of abandoned and rotting dugouts are still known lying in the preserving mud in the spots where they foundered. Within recent years Terrill Bradby has made one, and within the last few



years Paul Miles has hewn out the large one illustrated in fig. 77. As many as six or seven dugouts belonging to fishermen, drawn up on the shore at the river-landing, are remembered by elderly men. The Pamunkey and Mattaponi dugouts were gener-



FIG. 77.—Dugout canoe of the Pamunkey in course of construction.

ally made of yellow pine (*Pinus taeda*), while at Chickahominy, where cypress abounds, they were made of that tree.

Captain John Smith gives an account of canoe-making:

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by bowing [burning] and scratching away the

coles with stone and shels till they have made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and 40 or 50 foot in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30 according to their bignes. Instead of oares, they use paddles and sticks, with which they will row faster then our Barges.<sup>1</sup>

At one time Powhatan exhibited to Captain Smith his great canoes capable of carrying forty men, in



FIG. 78.—Dugout canoes in the Dismal swamp, Virginia.

which they traversed Chesapeake bay to reach the territories of the Accomac on the Eastern Shore.

Some native-made dugouts are still operated by travelers in the ditches of the Dismal swamp, in the old territory of the Nansamond. The form and cut of these boats are identical with those of the

<sup>1</sup> Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, op. cit., p. 103.

Chickahominy craft and with the later types at Pamunkey and Mattaponi, having the pointed ends (fig. 78). They are undoubtedly of aboriginal model. On these various specimens in eastern Virginia we base our information.

As in other portions of the log-canoe area the Virginia Algonkians burned out the interior of a trunk of a tree and tested the thickness of the walls, as the charring and adzing progressed, by boring holes from the outside in to the depth of thickness desired. Then when the interior was hewn down until the holes were reached, it was known to be far enough. The holes were later plugged up to be water-tight. After the coming of Europeans the Pamunkey acquired iron adzes for hewing. One of these, found broken in the ground near an old house site on the reservation, is shown in fig. 79.

The bottom of the dugout is nearly flat; the interior has a flat bottom and vertical sides, and the ends project a little over the water-line. An interesting natural angle-measure was employed to furnish a pattern for the ends. This was a forked branch, having the right curve and flare (fig. 80).



FIG. 79.—Old iron adz found on the Pamunkey reservation. Length, 4 in. (11/8183)

Laid on the ends of the unfinished dugout the pointing of the bow and stern was marked off from this pattern. The canoes of the older type are remembered as "tray-heads," named, it is said, from

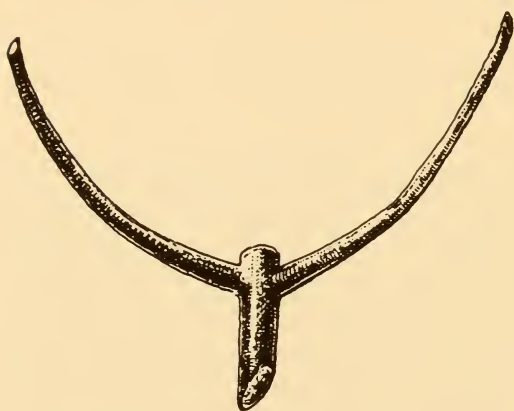


FIG. 80.—Forked-branch pattern for making canoe bows.

their resemblance to the native bread-tray or bowl (fig. 92). They correspond to the outline of the dugout figured so long ago by Harriot in the Hatteras region. In later times the bow was made

sharper, more cut-under and scooped. We have a specimen of the old type of canoe made in recent times by Paul Miles, one of the hunters. Its dimensions are: Length, 18 ft.; width at waist, 28 in.; thickness at bottom,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in.; sides above water-line, 13 in.; capacity, five persons; weight about 460 lbs.; "tray-head" bow and short-cut stern. Compared with this specimen several of the cypress dugouts (fig. 78) from the Dismal swamp give the following figures:

1. Length,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  ft.; width, 2 ft. 8 in.; width of flattened bottom, 18 in.
2. Length, 17 ft.; width, 2 ft. 8 in.; width of flattened bottom, 18 in.
3. Length,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  ft.; width, 2 ft. 2 in.; width of flattened bottom,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  in.



The Pamunkey paddled their canoes sitting on boards merely laid across the gunwales. The seats were necessarily movable, it is said, in order to allow the fisherman to move easily about and to shift his position without delay. The Pamunkey, who now make and use only the plank canoe, still use the movable seat and continue, as we shall now see, to work with the same type of paddle as that which was formerly used with the dug-out. The paddle is a matter of interest and importance to the Indian, for upon it depends his success and even his life, in the severe winds and rough waters of the fishing season. The paddles are long, from five to seven feet. They are generally of red oak, ash,

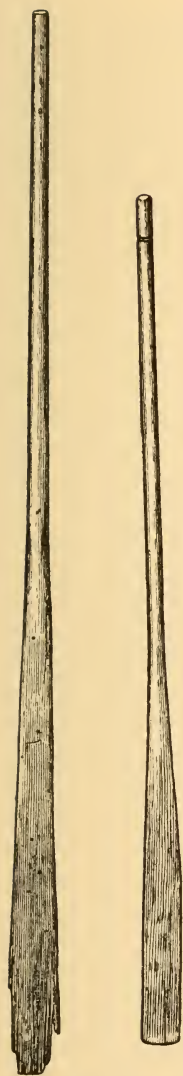


FIG. 81.—  
Pamunkey  
canoe paddles.  
Sizes, 6 ft. 7 in.  
and 5 ft. 4 in.  
(9/7767, 7768)

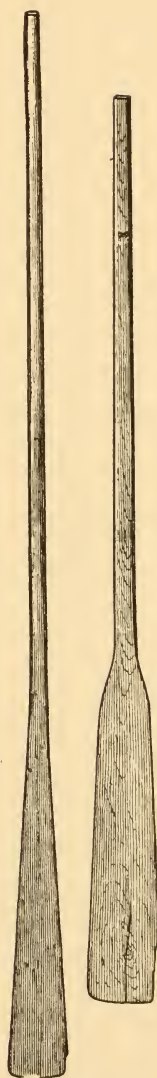


FIG. 82.—  
Chickahominy  
canoe paddles.  
Length, 7 ft. 3  
in. and 5 ft. 1 in.  
(10/5743, 5744)

chestnut, or white oak, at Pamunkey and Mattaponi, of white oak, ash, or cypress at Chickahominy. The steering paddle is generally of the same length as the bow paddle, though some fishermen carry five-foot paddles in their canoes, with which the boys paddle when they accompany them.

By the "shouldered" paddle I refer to the type illustrated in fig. 82, in which the blade widens into shoulders. The grip is always plain. The Pamunkey paddle generally has a stouter staff than the kind used at Chickahominy. The reason for this, given by the Pamunkey, is that their river is rougher and windier than the Chickahominy river, requiring a stouter paddle; by the Chickahominy the reason is given that the latter work more deliberately and quietly in stalking game. They say that the "shouldered" paddle is noisier than the tapering form while it is in the water. When approaching or stalking game, the paddle is not lifted from the water, but the blade is noiselessly turned sideways at each stroke. The paddles are all very strong and pliable, admirably suited both for poling and for shoving in water or in ooze. They are, however, seemingly heavy, at least to hands accustomed to the light maple paddles of the northern Indians. We must nevertheless admit their superiority under the conditions involved. The Virginia canoemen take a long deep stroke, reaching quite far forward to "dig in and grip" the water. The lower hand rests on the leg to give more leverage power. It

requires great strength to move and steer the heavy water-logged dugouts and plank boats now used. The canoeman never kneels, but sits on the loose board seat, with knees bent, or with one leg extended straight out.

The bailer is a scoop made of one piece of wood with a projection forming the handle.

Some rather interesting folklore is associated with the dugout. The slime which coats the pebble or mud beaches of the tidewater rivers permits the canoe, no matter how heavy, to be slid to the water's edge and launched again by two men when needed at low tide. According to tradition at Pamunkey, it is believed that in shoving out from the shore the canoe should be first turned "sun-wise," or with the sun, that is, from east to west. After this formal direction in leaving the shore has been taken, the canoe may be turned in the direction desired.

Like the northern Algonkians, the Pamunkey canoemen apprise one another of game observed by a sudden jerk of the body, which, communicated to the canoe, startles the other occupant of the boat to a sense of alertness. The Pamunkey call this warning a "shiver." One "shiver" is a signal to be quiet and paddle gently, for a noise or a glimpse of something has been sensed. Two "shivers" mean, "Do you see it?" A "shiver" from the other hunter is an affirmative. (See pages 353-354.)

## AGRICULTURE

A review of some agricultural practices of the modern Pamunkey shows but a few features of aboriginal survival. The corn now raised is the

common yellow variety of commerce.



FIG. 83.—Pamunkey pounding corn in a wooden mortar.

Among the several hundred inhabitants of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi villages there is not now a single log corn mortar in regular use. From some specimens previously collected, however, and from descriptions of those used not so long ago we know

that the wooden mortar and pestle of the Powhatan area corresponded to those of the Nanticoke. Mortars were of gum-wood, about three feet high, some with straight sides, others hewed narrower





FIG. 84.—Nansamond hominy mortar. Height, 32 in. (1/8754)



FIG. 85.—Chickahominy medicine mortar. Size, 13 x 3½ in.

toward the bottom, with a disc-like base (figs. 83–85). In modern times the wooden pestle with an iron wedge inserted in the end and held by an iron ring was employed. There is little evidence forthcoming to show that here the heavy stone pestle, so common in Pennsylvania and New England, was

used. Only one implement exhibiting the form of the stone pestle has been found on the Pamunkey reservation, a smoothed stone of the pestle type, ten inches long, which was used by the wife of the chief for cracking corn, hitting the kernels upon a plank (fig. 87). She stated that her mother had



FIG. 86.—Chickahominy children cracking walnuts with stone mortar and pounder.

employed it in a mortar. Aside from this tool the Virginia pestle seems to have been of the wooden form, though not of the long, heavy, double-ended type of the Iroquois, Delawares, and Cherokee.

Baskets for agricultural use are seldom made, although at Pamunkey, Ezekiel Langston constructs

them for his own use in carrying fish. His material is white oak, his weave is the common twill. The rimming is plain, as is shown in fig. 89. At Mataponi, however, the girls make baskets of honeysuckle stems and their work is neat (fig. 88). But regarding the history of the technique little can be said, except that it is suspiciously European in its details. We cannot be too sure that something like it did not exist in former times, as many references to baskets of different forms in early days are encountered. Among the Powhatan remnants the Rappahannock have best preserved the basket industry, and this I have covered in a special report on that tribe.<sup>1</sup>

The use of gourds as receptacles, so general among the southern tribes and referred to by the writers on early Virginia, has not been forgotten by the Indian descendants there today. They were and still are occasionally put into service for seed containers and water cups, and one was found employed as a soap dish (figs. 90, 91). The Pamunkey and Rappahannock do not plant gourd-seeds, but strew

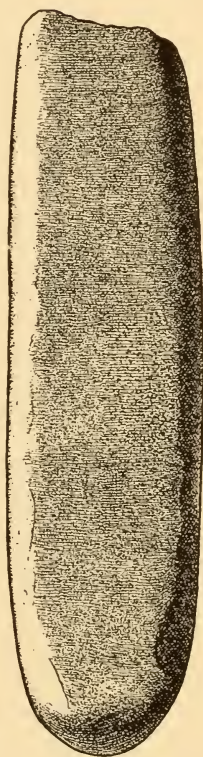


FIG. 87.—Pamunkey stone pestle. Length.  $10\frac{1}{4}$  in. (11/382)

<sup>1</sup> The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, vol. v, no. 3, 1925.

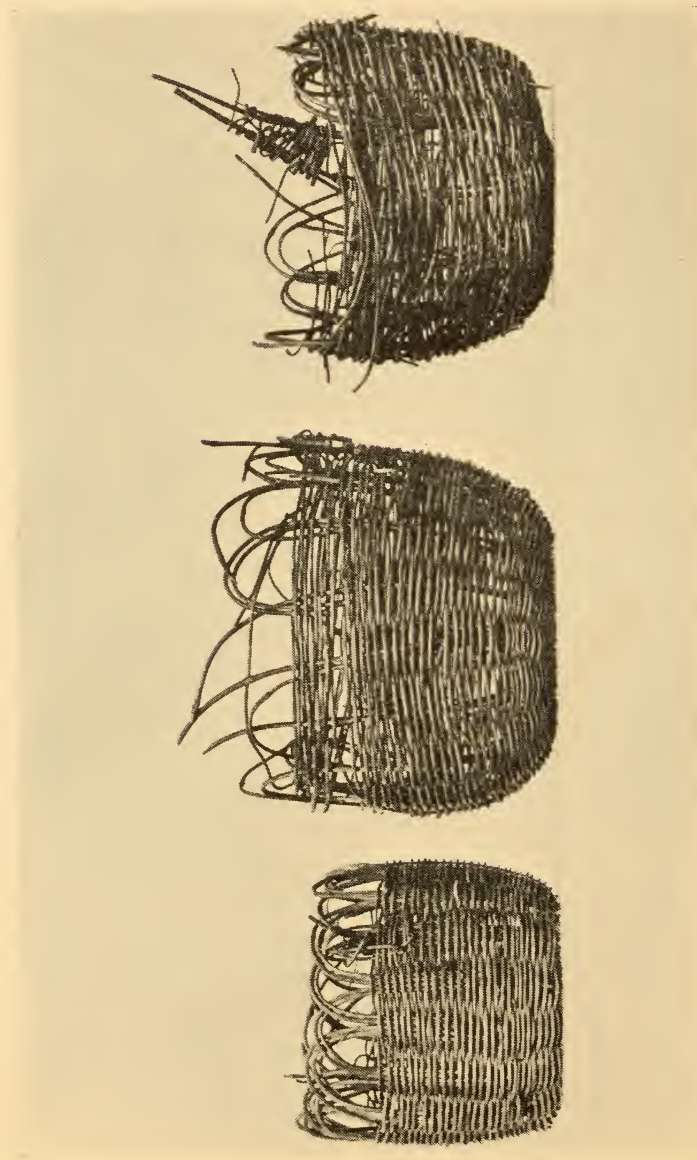


FIG. 88.—Mattaponi baskets made of honeysuckle stem. Width of the largest,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. (9/7754)



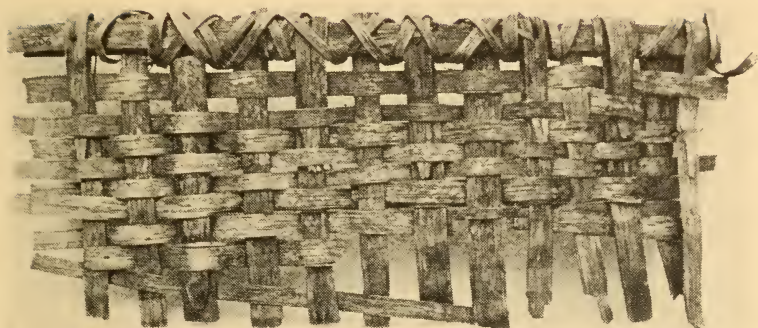


FIG. 89.—Fragment of large Pamunkey fish basket. (10/5706)



FIG. 90.—Mattaponi gourd cup. Diameter, 3 in. (9/7732)



FIG. 91.—Pamunkey squash-rind dish used for holding soap.  
Extreme diameter, 7 in. (11/383)

them about on rich soil, leaving them to find a rooting themselves. They think it "wrong" to sow them. Aboriginal habits survive in the employment of terrapin-shells (fig. 93) and fossil scallop-shells from the marl deposits (fig. 94): articles remembered to have served generations ago and still at times used through sentimental feelings for the past, being kept as relics by some.

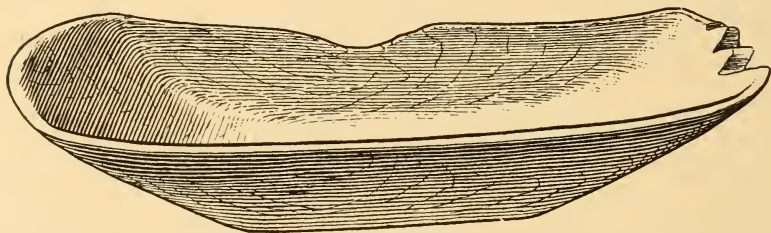


FIG. 92.—Old Pamunkey gum-wood tray for bread. Length, 22 in. (10/5708)

The corn, when gathered, is husked by the aid of the oak peg provided with a leather loop for the middle finger. Several specimens from Pamunkey and Mattaponi are illustrated, showing their conformity (figs. 97, 98). It may be noted that among the various surviving Indian communities of Virginia slight differences are observable in the proportions and leather grips of these tools, yet at Pamunkey and Mattaponi they are alike.

A number of agricultural superstitions and beliefs have been recorded among the half-dozen tribal

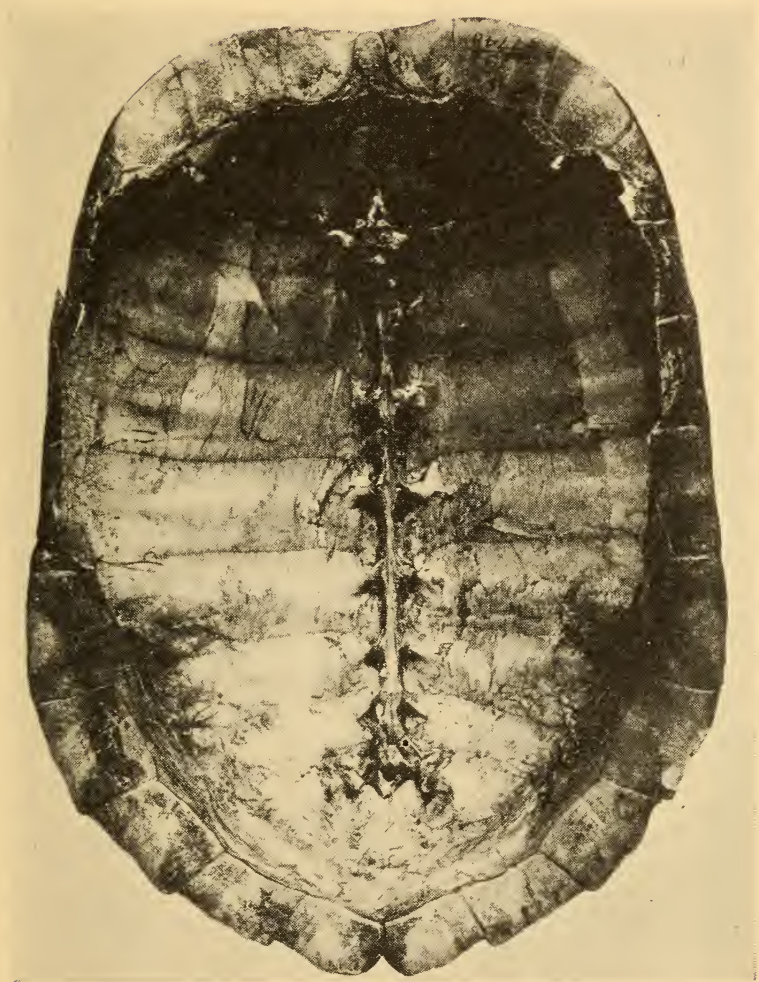


FIG. 93.—Turtlesell used by the Mattaponi for dishing turtle stew.  
Length,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. (9/7748)





FIG. 94.—*a*, Scallop-shell used as a platter (width,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.); *b*, Fossil scallop-shell spoon. Mattaponi.  
(9/7765; 10/5740)



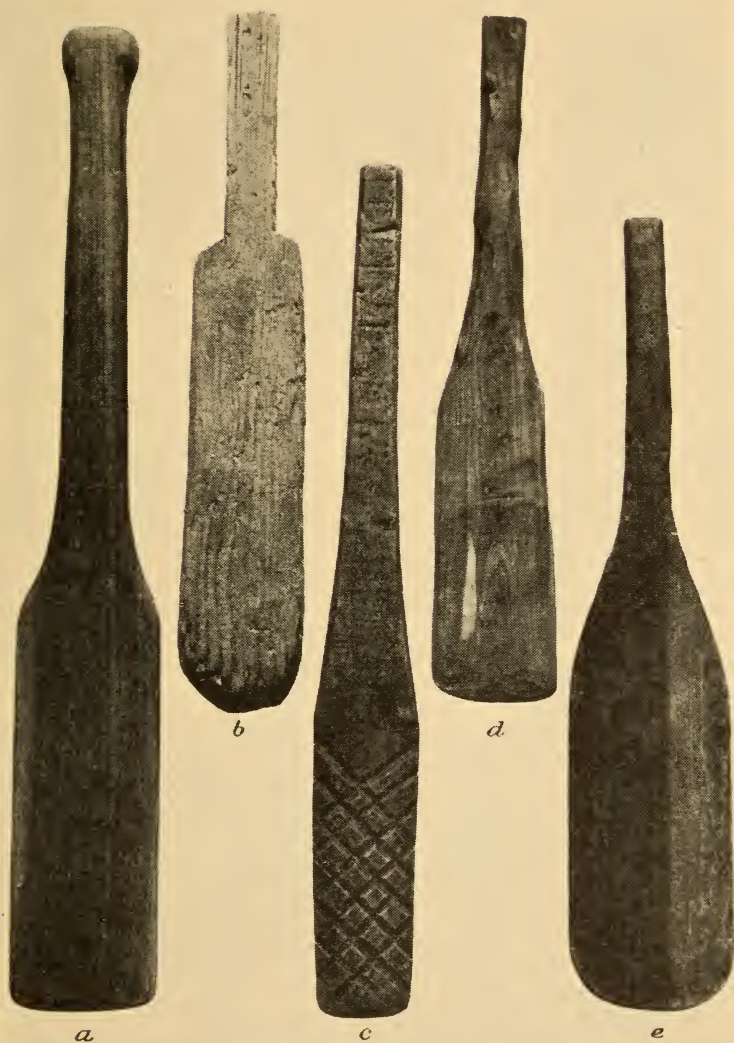


FIG. 95.—*a-d*, Wooden stirring paddles; *e*, Wooden paddle used in pottery making. Pamunkey. Length of *a*, 14 in. (10/5688, 5689)

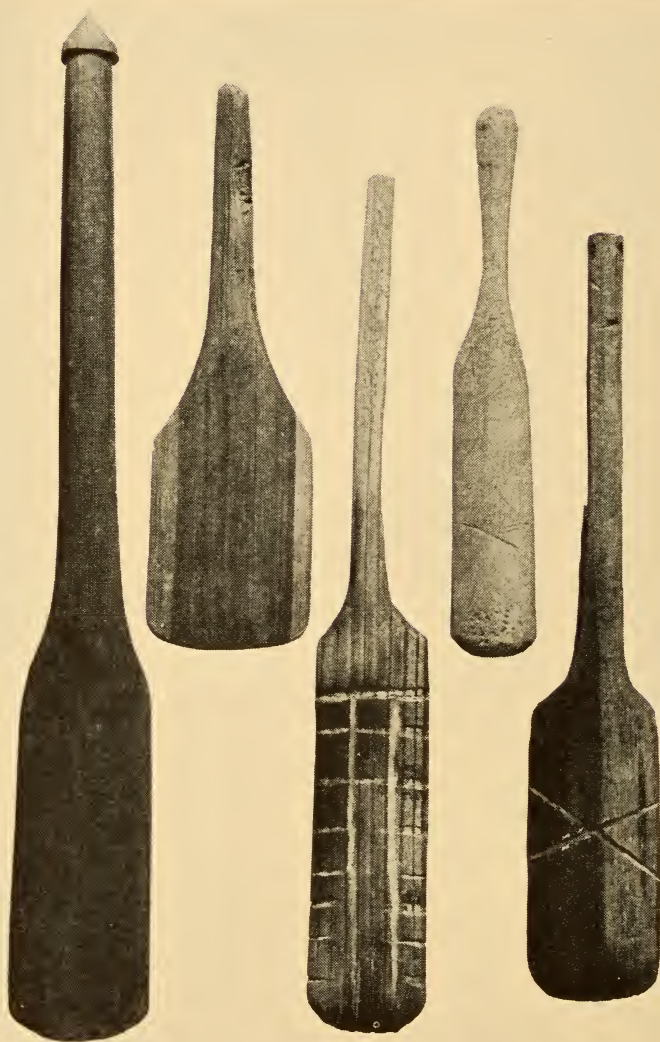


FIG. 96.—Mattaponi stirring paddles. Length of the largest,  $14\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
(9/7729-7731; 10/6566)

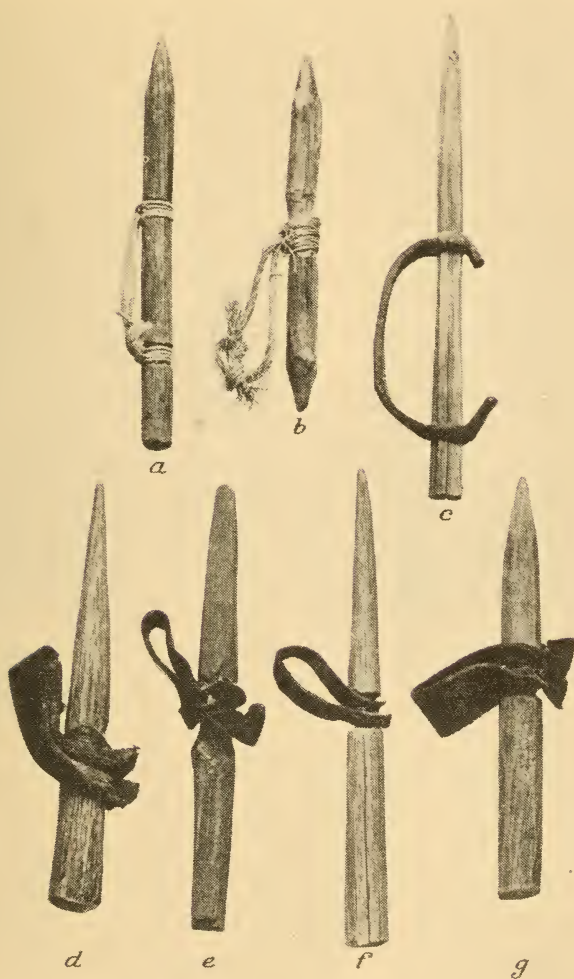


FIG. 97.—Pamunkey (*a-c*) and Mattaponi (*d-g*) corn-husking pegs.  
Length,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 in. (9/7759; 10/5703; 11/386)

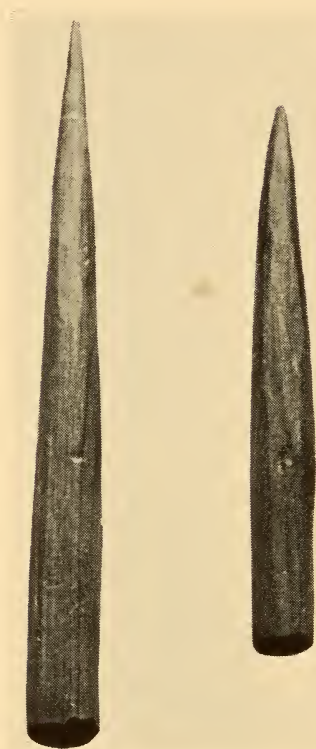


FIG. 98.—Mattaponi corn-husking pegs of red cedar. The larger is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. long. (9/7756)

units in Virginia, and these I shall present separately under the topic of folklore.

### PAMUNKEY POTTERY

A great abundance of pottery fragments commands the attention of the observer who passes over the open ground almost anywhere on high, dry land near the river. The gathering of quantities of this material and its subjection to scrutiny as to frequency, location, and texture, permit us to draw a conclusion, making use of Nelson's theory of horizontal stratification, an ingenious discovery that will be of great advantage to explorers every-

where in America. On the reservation and in adjacent territory outside there is considerable variation in the prevailing types of potsherds. In eastern Virginia at large, the earthenware is of the coarse, pebbly, heavy, clay variety, often reddish in color, showing the so-called net-marks which have been identified and described by Holmes. This





FIG. 99.—Potsherds (the first eleven) from Windsor Shades, New Kent county, and (the next four) from the site of Apocant, Chickahominy river, Va. (10/5741, 6577)

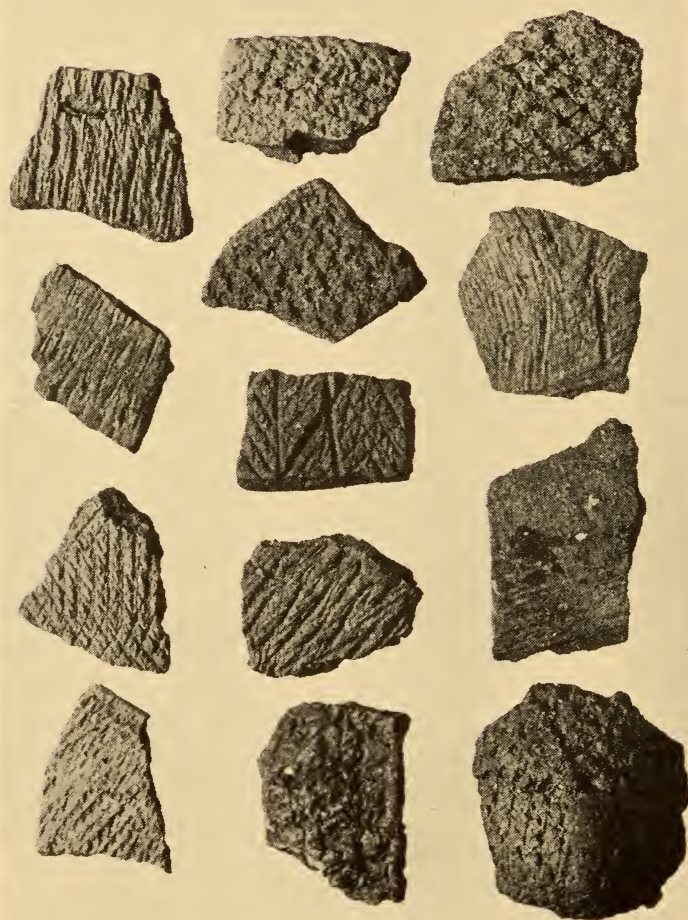


FIG. 100.—Potsherds from Windsor Shades, New Kent county, and from site of Apocant, Chickahominy county, Virginia. (10/5741, 6577)

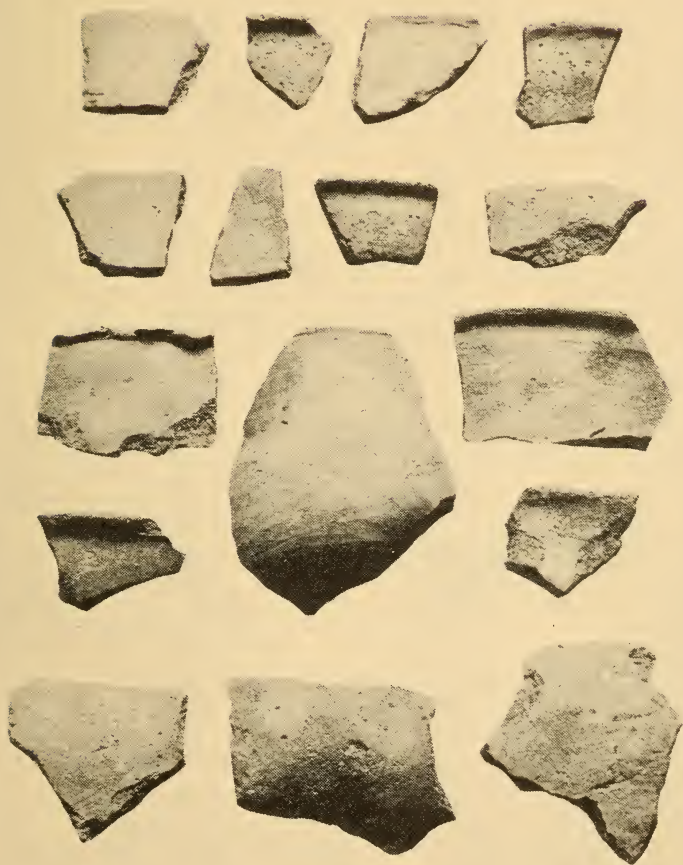


FIG. 101.—Potsherds of hard, historic Pamunkey ware.

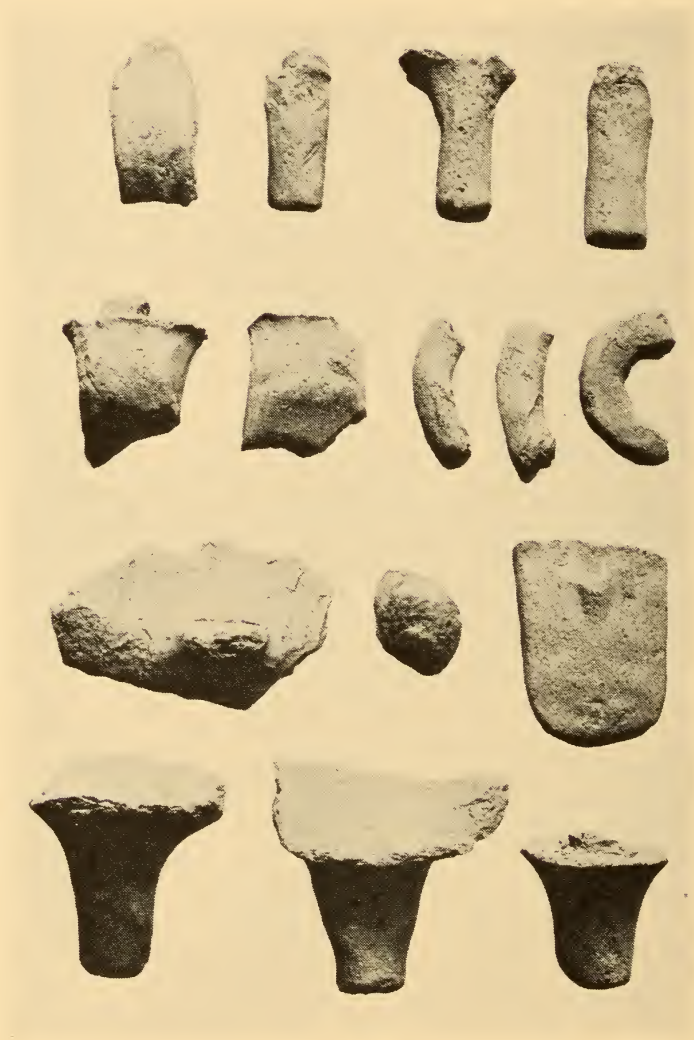


FIG. 102.—Fragments of pottery receptacle handles from the Pamunkey reservation, King William county, Virginia. (10/5714)



ware abounds along all the inhabitable shores of the river and is abundant on the reservation. Yet at certain points of the reservation it gives place, in respect to abundance, to a thinner, light-drab ware, very smooth both inside and outside and otherwise characterized by an absence of incisions or impressions of any kind on the body. And besides these characteristics, the clay out of which the latter ware was made contains no pebbles and no grit, but, on the other hand, a large proportion of powdered shells. For convenience I shall label the reddish, pebbly, net-impressed material, of general distribution in the tidewater region, the *Coarse Ware*; and the unmarked, gritless, refined material which is so abundant on the reservation, the *Smooth Ware*.

The matter of explanation becomes quite simple after a thorough survey of the tidewater region material has been made. A distributional question, a problem of material, one also of technique, develop under our gaze and finally resolve themselves before us into a culture-historical question involving the southeast, all of which again emphasizes the singular importance of pottery as a recording element in eastern archeology.

First let us look over the material from the Virginia tidewater area. Everywhere here from the southern boundary of Virginia by actual observation, northward even through the Delaware valley, the potsherds are almost identical in material, decoration,



FIG. 103.—Stones used by the Pamunkey for pounding clay and shells for pottery making. Length of the longer stone,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in. (10/5719)

and color. Holmes has appropriately called the ceramics of the tidewater "the Algonkian type." On the Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Rappahannock, James, and Chickahominy rivers it is all the same, the rims, decorations, and ingredients being practically uniform within a certain range of variation. Net and cord impressions characterize this work,



FIG. 104.—Pamunkey men digging clay on the river bank for pottery making. This is one of the traditional clay-holes of the reservation.

while the so-called roulette impression, the stick-end indentation, and the "comb" indented decorations are familiar. Incised-line patterns are also sparingly found (figs. 99, 100).

This is evidently the older Algonkian ware. There is little doubt of the homogeneity, even in minor

particulars, of the early pottery of eastern Virginia. It is not necessary here to figure or to describe this and its decorations further, even that which comes from the immediate Pamunkey region, since it has been so completely covered by Holmes's study.

We find, however, in several places within this territory, a great abundance, in small centers, of the smooth ware. Its sporadic occurrence, its localized abundance, and some historical circumstances, as well as the ethnological conditions among the present Indians of the region, point clearly to the conclusion that the ware of this type came into being after the natives had changed their economic habits resulting from contact with the English.

Let us examine some series of these smooth sherds from the places where they abound on the present Pamunkey and Mattaponi reservations. In the first place, the fragments from both places are exactly alike; hence the conditions of development in both loci are correspondent (figs. 101, 102). The ware is characterized by being very smooth, hard, and fine-grained, the clay free entirely from sand and grit, yet full of powdered mussel-shell. Its color is light-brown or uniform drab or gray. No incised or depressed decorations are found in the body. A few rims only show any attempt at embellishment, which then consists of fine impressions or dents, sometimes of fingermarks. Next is the most important thing: numerous angular bottoms, parts





FIG. 105.—*a, b, d, e*, Freshwater mussel-shells used for scraping pottery; *c*, Powdered mussel-shell mixed with clay for making pottery. Pamunkey.

of curved handles or lugs, legs and knobbed lids, together with evidence of flat bottoms and the exclusive lipped rim style (fig. 102), are indications of a modification in form, bringing them into correspondence with the common European forms.<sup>1</sup> Here then is the secret, and, comparing this material with the historic Pamunkey ware, we are forced to conclude that the later archeological material is transitional, forming the link between the pre-European and the modern pottery.

Having now established this chronological connection, we may consider in detail the modern ware of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, interesting in a sentimental sense besides, because here are the last Algonkian potteries.

Several writers have dealt with the method of ceramic manufactures of the Pamunkey in as much detail as was obtainable in a case where the industry was already early on the wane.

To the descriptions of Pollard (1894) and Holmes (1899), I cannot add much.

About the first observer, however, to mention Pamunkey pottery was Mason. He wrote:

The most interesting feature of their [the Pamunkey] present condition is the preservation of their ancient modes of making pottery. It will be news to some that the shells

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<sup>1</sup> The collections made for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, contain hundreds of specimens of these.

are calcined before mixing with the clay, and that at least one-third of the compound is triturerated shell.<sup>1</sup>

Pollard, who has recorded the most complete details, says:

Of their aboriginal arts none are now retained by them except that of making earthenware and "dugout" canoes.

Until recent years they engaged quite extensively in the making of pottery, which they sold to their white neighbors, but since earthenware has become so cheap they have abandoned its manufacture, so that now only the oldest of the tribe retain the art, and even these cannot be said to be skillful. The clay used is of a dirty white color, and is found about 6 feet beneath the surface. It is taken from the Potomac formation of the geologic series, which yields valuable pottery clays at different localities in Virginia and Maryland, and particularly in New Jersey. Mr. Terrill Bradby, one of the best informed members of the tribe, furnished, in substance, the following account of the processes followed and the materials used in the manufacture of this pottery.

In former times the opening of a clay mine was a great feast day with the Pamunkey. The whole tribe, men, women, and children, were present, and each family took home a share of the clay. The first steps in preparing the clay are to dry it, beat it up, pass it through a sieve, and pound it in a mortar. Fresh-water mussels, flesh as well as shell, having been burnt and ground up, are mixed with the clay prepared as above, and the two are then saturated with water and kneaded together. This substance is then shaped with a mussel shell to the form of the article desired and placed in the sun and dried; then shaped with a mussel shell and rubbed with a stone for the purpose of producing a gloss. The dishes, bowls, jars, etc., as the case may be,

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<sup>1</sup> Mason, O. T., *Anthropological News*, *Amer. Naturalist*, Boston, 1877, vol. xi, p. 627.

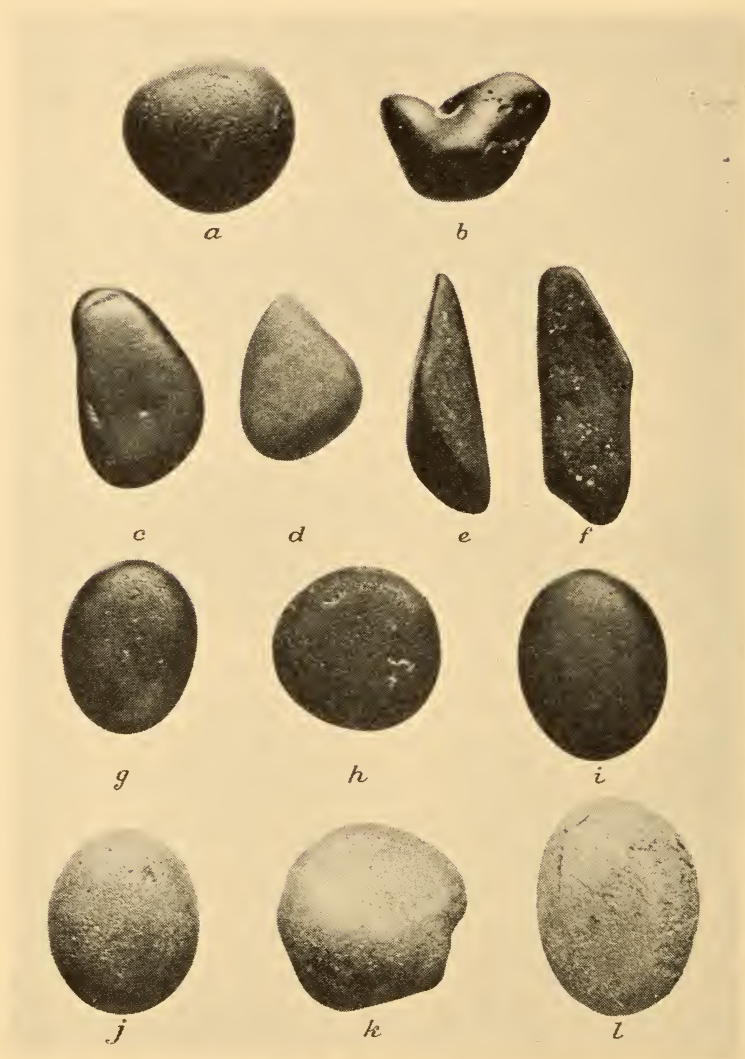


FIG. 106.—Mattaponi (*a*, *b*), Pamunkey (*c*–*g*), and Catawba (*h*–*l*) pottery smoothing stones. (1/8776; 9/7753; 10/5720)



are then placed in a circle and tempered with a slow fire; then placed in the kiln and covered with dry pine bark and burnt until the smoke comes out in a clear volume. This is taken as an indication that the ware has been burnt sufficiently. It is then taken out and is ready for use. The reasons for the successive steps in this process, even the Indians are unable to explain satisfactorily.

The collection above referred to as having been made for the Smithsonian Institution was put on exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition. It consists almost altogether of earthenware. Besides the various articles for table and kitchen use, there are in the collection (1) a "sora horse" made of clay, and already described under the head of mode of subsistence, and (2) a "pipe-for-joy," also made of clay. In the bowl of this pipe are five holes made for the insertion of five stems, one for the chief and one each for the four council men. Before the days of peace these leaders used to celebrate their victories by arranging themselves in a circle and together smoking the "pipe-for-joy." The collection comprised also a "dugout" canoe, made of a log of wood, hollowed out with metal tools of white man's manufacture. Such canoes were formerly dug out by burning, and chopping with a stone axe.

A mortar, used in pounding dry clay as above referred to, could not be obtained for the collection. They are, however, made of short gum logs, in one end of which the basin of the mortar is burnt out. The pestle accompanying it is made of stone.<sup>1</sup>

Holmes dealt rather briefly with the matter. He wrote:

Before we pass on to the ware of particular localities it may be mentioned that while the art practiced by the tribes

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<sup>1</sup> Pollard, J. G., *The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia*, Washington, 1894, pp. 17-19.

of this province when first visited by the English colonists was soon practically abandoned, at least one community, a remnant of the Pamunkey Indians, residing on their reservation on the Pamunkey river adjoining King William county, Virginia, was practicing a degenerate form of it as late as 1878. At about that time Dr. Dalrymple, of Baltimore, visited these people and made collections of their ware, numerous specimens of which are now preserved in the National Museum.<sup>1</sup> A few of the vases then gathered are shown in plate CXXXVI.

The modeling of these vessels is rude, though the surfaces are neatly polished. They are very slightly baked, and the light-gray surface is mottled with clouds of black. The paste lacks coherency, and several of the specimens have crumbled and fallen to pieces on the shelves, probably as a result of the slaking of the shell particles. Ornament is confined to slight crimping and notching of the rim margins. None of the pieces bear evidence of use, and it seems probable that in recent years the art has been practiced solely or largely to supply the demands of curiosity hunters. The very marked defects of manufacture and the crudeness of shape suggest the idea that possibly the potters were really unacquainted with aboriginal methods. It will be seen by reference to the illustrations presented in this and the preceding section that this pottery corresponds somewhat closely in general appearance with that of the Cherokees and Catawbas.<sup>2</sup>

The problem, however, was not quite so simple as it appeared to the author of this monograph. The

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<sup>1</sup> It may be well to note in addition that a single specimen, a shallow bowl, is preserved of this collection in the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Va.

<sup>2</sup> Holmes, W. H., *Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States*, *Twentieth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, 1898-99.

Pamunkey industry undoubtedly had some relation to that of the Catawba, as he shrewdly surmised, and we shall soon see why.

Since a few years prior to the commencement of the Civil War, when the railroad was first operated over the country between Richmond and West Point, opening eastern Virginian woods to modern enterprise, the Pamunkey have not manufactured earthenware for their own use. Mrs. Allie Page is probably the oldest woman now living at the Pamunkey village. She remembers in her girlhood how the women constructed clay pots, milk-pans, and stewing jars, and carried them to the trading stores in the country, bearing the crockery upon their backs in cloth sacks and exchanging it for small wares, groceries, or cash. The coming of the railroad strangled the Pamunkey potter's trade by placing within the reach of the countryside the tin and crockery ware of commerce. Nevertheless, Mrs. Page, Mrs. Cook, and Mrs. Margaret Adams, the latter formerly of Mattaponi, all remember well the details of the ceramic industry and are still able to fashion small pottery vessels and jars, though not with the adroit hands of their grandmothers or even their mothers. The particulars which I have to add to the processes quoted are the following:

The living native authorities, whose names I have just mentioned, tell us about the process. The constitution of the clay material is about one-fourth powdered mussel-shell and three-fourths clay.

The mussel-shells are gathered from the feeding grounds of the muskrat along the runways of the animal by the river. Quantities of the whole shells lie in such places, where they are easily picked up. The shells must then be burned, as the earlier observers correctly stated. But they did not describe the method, probably not having observed it. The procedure is interesting. The shells are placed in layers alternating with dry cornstalks, forming a pile the size of which depends on the quantity of shells. The combustible pile, the top layer being stalks, is then fired and allowed to burn out. The burnt shells are then pounded with a stone. Often, being very much softened, they may be crushed in the hands. Pollard correctly noted the stone pounder used by the Pamunkey in powdering the shells as well as the clay. The Catawba do not employ a stone, but a wooden pounder. Specimens of Pamunkey stone pounders for clay and shell were obtained from the old women (fig. 103).

The clay is dug on the shore of the river near Bradby's landing. Fig. 104 shows some of the men at the old Pamunkey clay-hole digging clay as of old. The clay is selected to be free of sand. Then it is dried for a few days. Next it is beaten into a powder with the stone pounder. Then when the day of pot-making comes, this clay is made wet to the proper consistency, a matter to be judged only by the expert. Then on a smooth board the bottom is laid out in the form of a disc and the walls built



up by adding *thin layers of clay paste*, or, if the vessel is a small one, by pressing it into shape from a soft lump of material. The coiling was not followed in recent times. This is a noteworthy fact. Next comes the smoothing, which, on the inside, is done with the edge of a mussel-shell (fig. 105). The outside, after being so scraped down with the shell, is rubbed with a smooth pebble, which process adds an irregular polish to the surface. Specimens of the rubbing-stones are not uncommon on Pamunkey and Mattaponi sites, and a few have been handed me by the same women previously spoken of (fig. 106, *a-g*). The Catawba use similar rubbing-stones and polish their pots likewise (fig. 106, *h-l*). This also is noteworthy.

Next comes the burning of the pots in the open fire-hearth (fig. 107). The Pamunkey cover the jars with corn-stalks and pieces of dry pine-bark to give them a light-gray color. The stalks and bark are piled over them to cover them in burning. Occasionally the pots are fired by allowing them to stand close to the embers. The same is done by the Catawba.

Among the few native words preserved to us at Pamunkey comes the name *pandja* for a vessel used in boiling fruit. Perhaps this word is not Indian, even though it appears like an Algonkian term. It may be a corruption of "pitcher," yet it does not refer to an object of pitcher form.

The smooth ware which finally usurped the style

and technique at Pamunkey was known to the natives over much of the east. Sherds of the same texture and surface are found in the Cherokee region, among the Catawba, and all over the tidewater

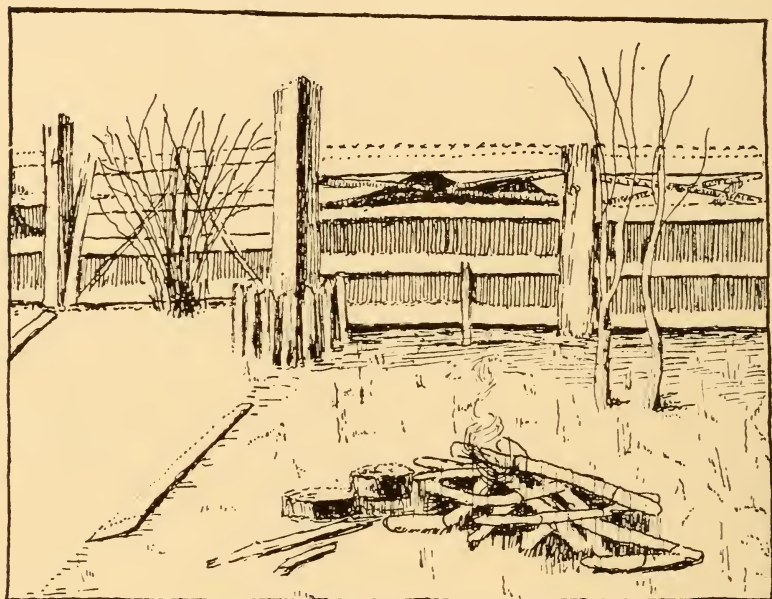


FIG. 107.—Pamunkey pottery firing in the open.

Algonkian habitat from the North Carolina-Virginia boundary to the head of Chesapeake bay. We have specimens to illustrate this from the Chickahominy through the country to the Nanticoke area of Delaware.

It would be interesting to know from similar series of potsherds what the history of Catawba ceramics

has been. The Catawba modern ware is not unlike that of the Pamunkey, in both texture and form, except for the mussel-shell tempering of the latter. Vases, pitchers, milk-pans, and pots are still made by the Catawba and have been treated by Har-



FIG. 108.—Pamunkey earthenware dishes. The larger is 8 in. in diameter. (11/8125, 8127)

rington<sup>1</sup> and Holmes.<sup>2</sup> One might venture to suspect, however, that the Catawba did have, in their more advanced southern ceramics, an original smooth ware. And this is further indicated by the recovery of the same hard, smooth ware on old house sites on the Catawba reservation. A dis-

<sup>1</sup> Harrington, M. R., *Catawba Potters and their Work*, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. x, 1908, pp. 399-407.

<sup>2</sup> Holmes, W. H., in *Twentieth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, 1898-99.

covery further confirming the supposition of relationship was recently made when a broken earthenware pipe mold was picked up at Pamunkey, its

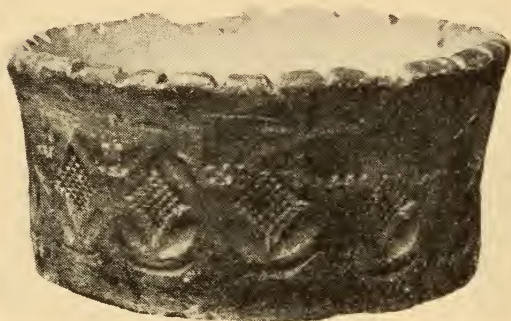


FIG. 109.—Pamunkey pottery bowl. Diameter,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in. (10/5723)

form absolutely identical with one used by the Catawba today. We know that about the time of the Civil War there was an ex-

change of population. Some Pamunkey families went to Catawba, intermarried there, and never returned.<sup>1</sup> Within the last twenty-five years some of the Catawba descendants of these unions re-



FIG. 110.—Pamunkey cylindrical pottery jar. Diameter, 3 in. (10/5724)

<sup>1</sup> On the Catawba reservation in South Carolina, almost a third of the tribe traces its descent with pride from John Mush and other Pamunkey who formed this movement.



turned to Pamunkey to sojourn there for a few years.

There is little to say in discussion of Pamunkey and Chickahominy pot forms, those surviving today being for the minor services as ash-trays and catchalls only. (See figs. 108-115.)



FIG. 111.—Pamunkey pottery vessel. Diameter, 5 in. (11/8126)



FIG. 112.—Pamunkey pottery cup. Diameter, 6 in. (11/8124)

The question now facing us is one concerning priority. The resemblance in form and technique between the Catawba and Pamunkey manufactures



FIG. 113.—Modern clay pot of the Chickahominy. Height,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
(11/8147)

is unavoidably striking, though there are several points of difference that tend to destroy the impression of an out-and-out borrowing. Positive resem-

blances between the two in modern ware are those of function and form: to wit, handled pitchers, three-legged stew-pans with lids (fig. 114), the canoe-shape dish (fig. 115), the round shallow dish, the human-face pipe, and the four-stemmed "peace pipe." Next, the exclusive survival of the smooth ware, rubbed with the pebble, might be suggestive of borrowing were it not for the fact of the archaeological evidence of its ubiquity in the east. Moreover, the use of calcined mussel-shells in Pamunkey pottery and the absence of it in Catawba are distinctive

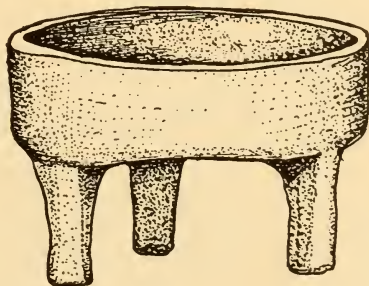


FIG. 114.—Model of Pamunkey stewing pan of clay.

features. Nor is it a question of lack of material, inasmuch as freshwater mussels are abundant in the Catawba country and the women employ the shells as scrapers for the inside when thinning down the walls of their pots. Historically, it would seem from tradition that the manufacture of quantities of pottery and pipes was carried on at Pamunkey before contact between them and the Catawba had been opened by the emigration of old John Mush and several of his family from Pamunkey to Catawba. This old man has been dead some sixty-five years and was over seventy at the time. This would make his birth about 1800. He went to Catawba and married,

then later brought his wife to Pamunkey. This could not have been earlier than 1820. But Mrs. Cook knows from her mother, who was of Mush's generation, that her grandmother made and sold pottery like that which is still known. Would it not seem plausible, then, to ascribe an early manufacture of the smooth-ware to both surviving groups?

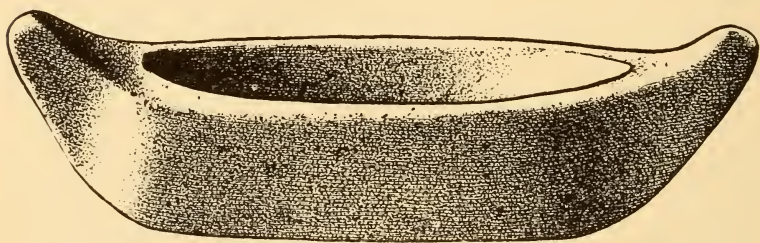


FIG. 115.—Pamunkey canoe model of clay. Exact size. (1/8814)

*Pipes.*—The Pamunkey of early as well as of late times was a busy producer of clay pipes. This is shown by the relatively large number of whole pipes and fragments which the soil of the small reservation has yielded. With the help of some of the natives themselves, especially Miss Pocahontas Cook, I have picked up no fewer than eighty specimens, either whole or in part, all from the surface of the open ground. Of these, eight were entire. The recovery of a portion of the same form of pipe-stem from near the bottom of a refuse-pit furnishes evidence of the usual type of pipe occurring in as ancient a level of Pamunkey



industry as we have knowledge of. The frequency ratio of pipes in these immediate Pamunkey environs is undoubtedly high, for, if we compare it with that published by Skinner for the Iroquois of New York, we shall see that Pamunkey y'elds an abundance of clay-pipe specimens not inferior to many other localities in the east. Skinner mentions recovering 191 pipes, whole and fragmentary, from an Iroquois (Onondaga) site, and this he considered evidence of extensive pipe manufacture, classing the Onondaga as preëminent among pipe-making groups, judged by existing remains.<sup>1</sup>

In structure there

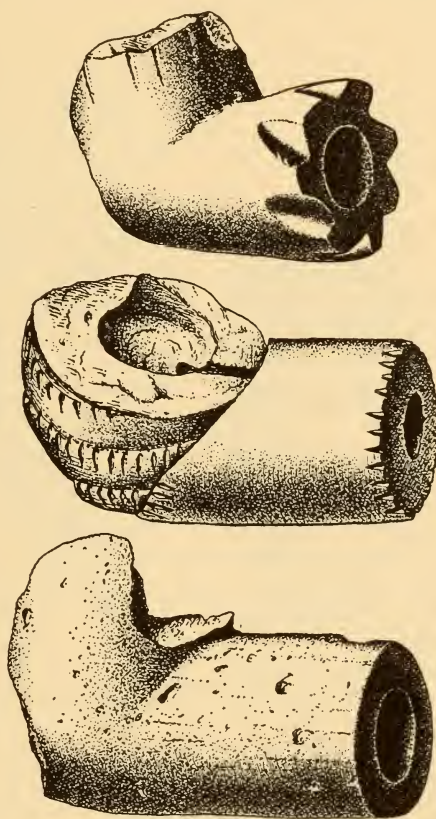


FIG. 116.—Pamunkey earthenware pipes. Exact size. (10/5715, 5731)

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, A. B., *Notes on Iroquois Archeology, Indian Notes and Monographs*, misc. no. 18, New York, 1921, pp. 150–51. Among this large number of fragments Skinner found only four perfect specimens.

is a close similarity among the pipe remains from the whole tidewater district. The bowls are small, the walls thin, and the clay is very fine and lacks the grit and pebbles of the older

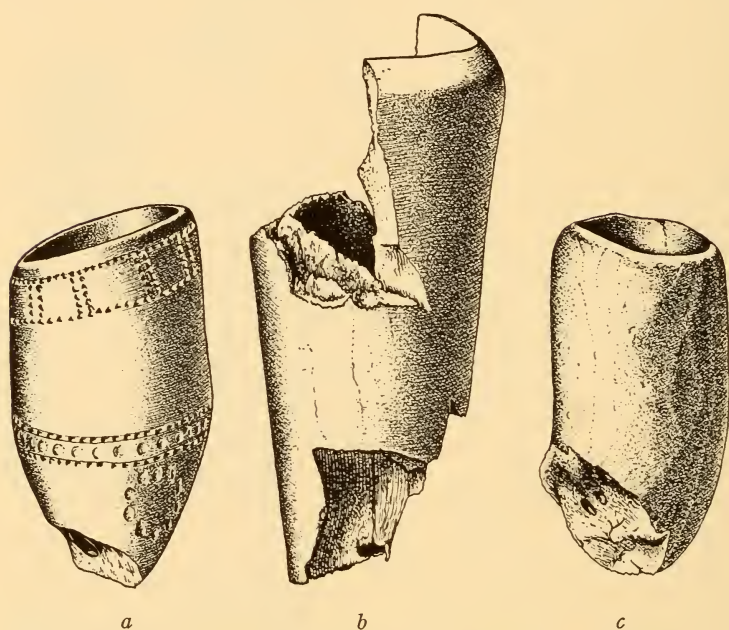


FIG. 117.—Pamunkey earthenware pipes. Exact size.  
(10/6583, 6584, 5730)

pottery texture. The stems are continuous with the bowl at an angle of about 45 degrees—the so-called Atlantic coast “type” or elbow clay pipe of McGuire.<sup>1</sup> Then there is the “tubular” form in

<sup>1</sup> McGuire, J. D., *Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Aborigines*, Washington, 1899, pp. 608–09. McGuire mentions the occurrence of the same form from Hudson river to Maryland and perhaps farther south. See also Holmes in *20th Report Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, p. 158, pl. cxlii.

which the bowl is an enlargement of the stem standing at a slight angle to it. The proportion of the types is about one tubular form to ten of elbow form.

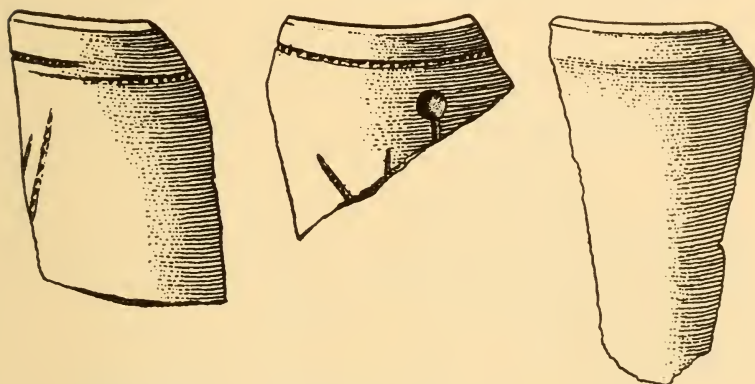


FIG. 118.—Fragments of Pamunkey pipes. Width of  $b$  at rim,  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (10/5715, 5762)

In structure they are generally fine. Bowl and stem are often generously ornamented with encircling line indentations which appear to have been placed upon the clay with either a fine comb or the serrated edge of a clam-shell. Figs. 116–121 show whole and reconstructed pipes found at Pamunkey. The series illustrated is actually typical and may be used as a standard for comparison with pipes of other areas and for tracing distribution. I venture even to say that so typical are these forms and ornamentations for Pamunkey, and so abundant are the evidences of persistent industry on the reservation, that whenever we find a closely similar pipe in the

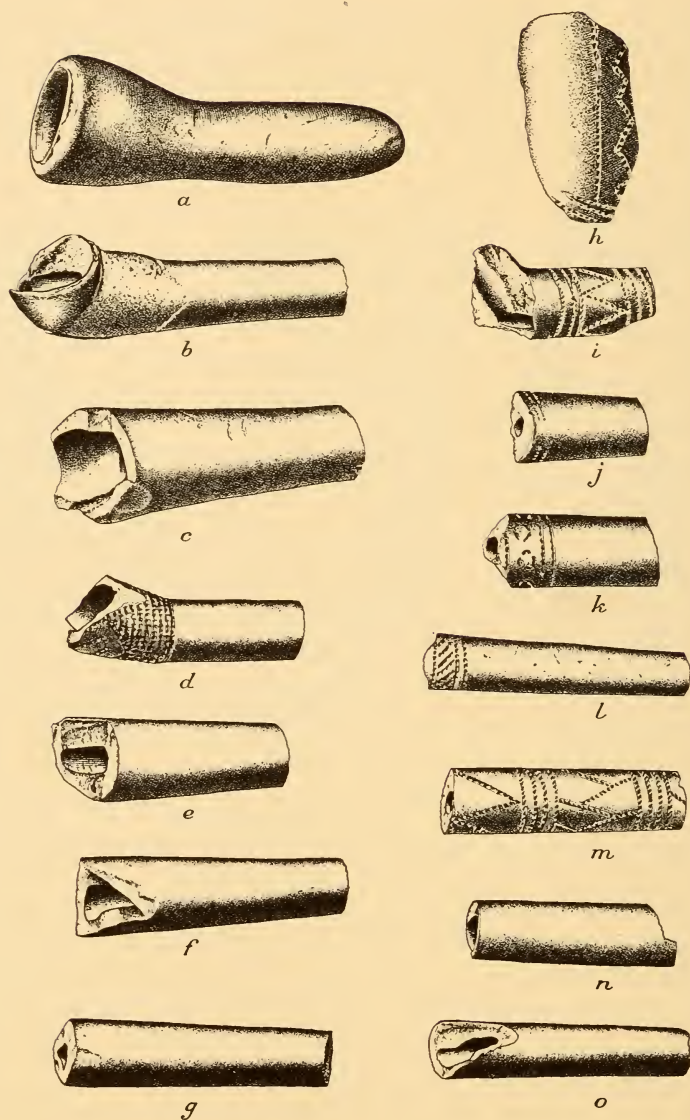


FIG. 119.—Fragments of Pamunkey earthenware pipes. Length of *a*,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. (10/5715, 6585; 11/376, 8146)



lower Chesapeake tidewater area it may be traced to Pamunkey authorship. Such, for instance, I believe is the explanation in the case of a decorated pipe figured by Holmes as coming from a point in the Chesapeake-Potomac area and showing every resemblance to our present ware.<sup>1</sup>

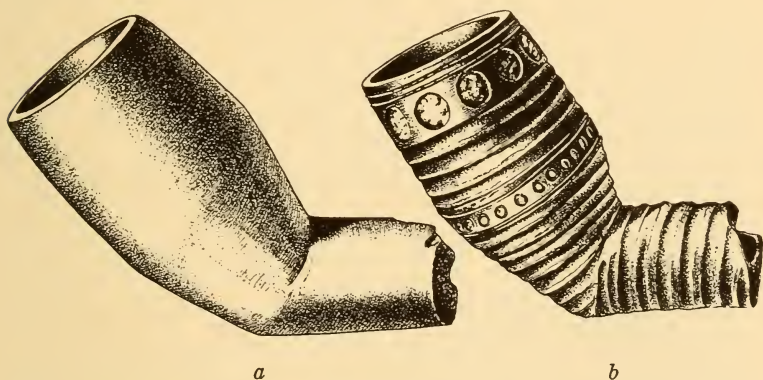


FIG. 120.—Pamunkey earthenware pipes. Length of bowl of *a* from rim to stem, 1.4 in. (10/5729, 5732)

The tubular form is present at Pamunkey (figs. 117, *b*; 119, *c*). From its wide distribution in America, and its occurrence in bone, wood, and stone in regions westward, this has generally been regarded as an early form. If so, then the practice of smoking and the art of clay-pipe making are fundamentals of Pamunkey culture. Specimens similar to every Pamunkey form have been obtained from surface

<sup>1</sup> Holmes, op. cit., pl. CXLII, *d*. The other pipes shown in the plate are absolutely identical with those from Pamunkey, though the author does not refer to locality.

exploration of the whole adjacent tidewater. The Chickahominy has yielded quite a few. Yet it is worth noting that not every tidewater culture area yields pipes in the same abundance, for at Nanticoke, on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, a most extended surface examination continued irregularly, of course, over some ten years has not produced a single perfect clay pipe and only three fragments.

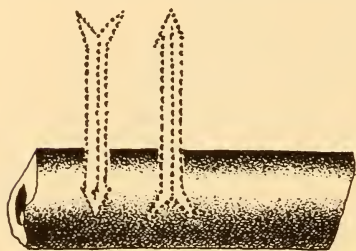


FIG. 121.—Fragment of Pamunkey earthenware pipe-stem with design projected. Extreme length, 1.4 in. (11/-8146)

The influencing factors on opposite sides of the Chesapeake were evidently different, for if the Nanticoke of Indian river, Delaware, made pipes in any abundance, their remains would be seen by the observer who knows the sites there as

well as he does those on the Pamunkey. In both areas the ceramics are of the old Algonkian type, otherwise similar in quality and decoration.

The modern Pamunkey have not quite left off making pipes. Some of the women, Mrs. Cook and Mrs. Adams, and some of the men, Jim Bradby and Paul Miles, manufacture them as they were made two generations ago. They dig their clay in the same holes along the river. They gather and burn the mussel-shells, and clean and mix the clay with the powdered shell in the same proportion,

about one part of shell to five of clay. They burn them in the traditional way by piling a heap of dry fine sticks and a dozen or so dry cornstalks to the height of five or six inches, enough to cover two or three pipes which have been dried four or five days in the shade. Then when one covering of the



FIG. 122.—Recent Pamunkey earthenware pipes. The lowermost one is 4 in. long. (11/8130, 8133-35, 8137)

sticks has been burnt off, the pipes are done and ready for use. Their work is shown in figs. 122-125.

Holmes has a short discussion of the clay pipes of the Chesapeake-Potomac group in his monograph.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

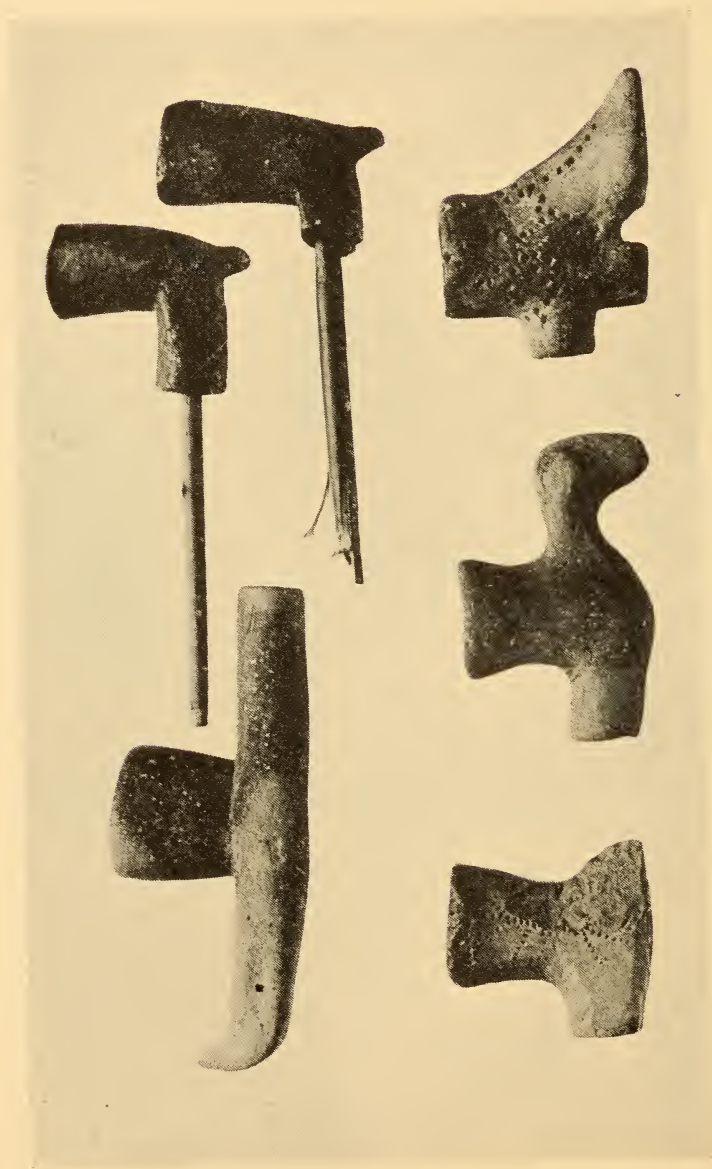


FIG. 123.—Recent Pamunkey pipes. The upper left-hand example is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. long. (1/8817, 8818, 8820; 10/5691, 5695)



The forms, which he figures and which seem to be general and somewhat exclusive for this region in general, are the same as those discussed here and correspond to the pipe figured by Hariot from Roanoke in 1590. The tubular and the slightly bent elbow patterns prevail. Since in form, finish, and decoration they are generally uniform for this culture area, it brings satisfaction to be able to make a step in progress by defining the pipe characteristics of so wide an area under rather fixed standards. Very few stone pipes have come from the area: only one to my direct knowledge, a fragment of a "monitor" pipe from the Chickahominy river, evidently intrusive.

Among the more peculiar products of eastern pipe-makers we encounter a few forms of the pipe bowl provided with four or five holes for the insertion of stems. This style has been preserved both at Pamunkey and at Catawba, a rather noteworthy coincidence in view of the supposed borrowing of ideas. The occurrence of these forms arouses a question both of antiquity and distribution. Were it not for the fact that similar pipe bowls have been reported from other eastern and southern centers there might be some doubt on the first question. The fact that the four-stemmed pipe is not only Pamunkey and Catawba is proved by a reference to its former use among the Chitimacha by Swanton<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Swanton, J. R., Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley, *Bull.* 43, *Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, 1911, p. 349.



FIG. 124.—Recent Pamunkey pipes. Length of the largest,  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in. (1/8816; 10/5692, 5693)

and by the finding of a specimen in the soil at Philadelphia. The latter was described and discussed by Abbott.<sup>1</sup>

Manifestly the survival of the unusual form is to be attributed to the irregular course of human interest, illustrated by the persistence of objects of curiosity through a period of culture decline. That there was something in the four-stemmed pipe to appeal to the imagination of the Pamunkey and Catawba is apparent. Pollard was evidently the first to note the "pipe for joy," as the Pamunkey called it in his time. He says of this clay pipe:

In the bowl of this pipe are five holes made for the insertion of five stems, one for the chief and one each for the four council men. Before the days of peace these leaders used to celebrate their victories by arranging themselves in a circle and together smoking the "pipe-for-joy."<sup>2</sup>

The Catawba form, called "peace-pipe," is interesting to us now. At Catawba it is asserted that the four-stemmed pipe was used, at the command of the chief, by men who represented families having a

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<sup>1</sup> Abbott, C. C., *Primitive Industry*, Salem, 1881, p. 333; also in *Amer. Antiquarian*, vol. 1, p. 113. Abbott describes the pipe as made of white steatite. It was found in a grave on the almshouse property at West Philadelphia. It was nearly six inches in height. About two inches from the base there was a horizontal groove in which were pierced four equidistant stem-holes. The specimen was in possession of Mr. W. S. Vaux of Philadelphia. (Notes by P. E. Scott.)

<sup>2</sup> Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. 18.



FIG. 125.—Earthenware pipes. *a-c, e, f*, Pamunkey; *d*, Catawba. Length of *f*, 6½ in. (1/8767, 8815, 8817, 8819; 10/5694)





FIG. 126.—*a*, Pamunkey wooden pipe representing an Indian head. *b-e*, Mattaponi pipes. Length of *e*,  $6\frac{1}{8}$  in. (9/7735, 7736; 10/5697)

quarrel.<sup>1</sup> When the parties had been induced to smoke the pipe, the quarrel was forgotten. The only other approach to this form of pipe is known in the double-bowl pipes from South Carolina and Tennessee, figured by McGuire.<sup>2</sup>

Putting things side by side, we may divine that the "peace-pipe" was a native southeastern object surviving at Pamunkey, whose history paralleled that of the smooth pottery ware of both areas.

One other point is worth considering for a moment: No stone pipes have been found at Pamunkey. In fact the only specimen of this nature from the neighborhood is the broken base of a soapstone pipe of the "monitor" type from near Windsor Shades on Chickahominy river. The absence of stone pipes would seem to show either that smoking was contemporaneous here only in a relatively late age of ceramics, or that the Powhatan peoples came into the region smoking only the clay pipes. That they had a recent residence where we find them may be suggested for consideration.

Mention should at least be made of wooden pipes, generally formed of holly roots, made in the region (fig. 126). These have outlived the native clay pipes among the descendants of the tribes—their forms are evidently derived from the clay objects.

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<sup>1</sup> Holmes (op. cit., pl. CXXVIII) figures the Catawba peace-pipe and gives an account of Catawba pottery-making, pp. 53–55. Harrington, later in a more detailed study of Catawba methods, mentions the same object (*Amer. Anthr.*, vol. x, no. 3, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> McGuire, op. cit., p. 545, figs. 171–72.

## FEATHERWORK

We now come to what is perhaps the most interesting topic in the material life of the southern tribes, the woven feather technique. An art so ancient and so elaborate can hardly be expected to have persisted from colonial times down to the present day where the process of deculturation among the conquered tribes has gone so far. But surprising as it is, the Virginia Indians have not entirely forgotten, nor even lost, the art of weaving feathers into the foundation of textile fabrics. The antiquity of the woven-feather technique is attested by virtually all the authors of the old colonial descriptions of Indian life, while its beauty and high esthetic quality have made it the supreme textile achievement in a number of ethnic centers on the Pacific coast, in California, Mexico, and Ecuador, as well as in Polynesia. In the Gulf area the feather technique was also widely distributed. Fortunately we have a number of references to it and some details of description are recorded. After presenting the Pamunkey facts, I shall revert to the distribution of this art in the Southeast and upward along the Atlantic coast to southern New England, giving reasons for the inference that this admirable art was one of the complexes suggested on page 235, emanating from some center of dispersion in the south and drifting north along the coast.

The feather art is reported in early times from most of the lower Mississippi and Gulf tribes and as



FIG. 127.—Pamunkey woven feather neck-ornament. Extreme length, 24 in. (10/5721)



far north as the Delawares of Pennsylvania and the Narragansett of Rhode Island.

The facts pertaining to the Virginia survival of this much-discussed art and technique are as follows:

In 1919 I learned at the Mattaponi village from Mrs. John Langston that in her mother's time knitted textiles were occasionally made with wild-turkey feathers inserted at the loops, covering the whole of one side of the fabric. She also recalled the use of feathers other than those of the turkey in the making of decorated moccasin-tops and bags. Particular mention was made of capes so covered with turkey-feathers as to be warm and durable as well as beautiful. Mrs. Langston claimed to have been taught the process by her mother and then referred to several other old women who should have seen the feather articles in their younger days, and who perhaps knew also how to knit them. As a result of stimulating her interest she undertook then to make a specimen or two.

From Margaret Adams, however, the oldest woman at Pamunkey town, who herself came from Mattaponi originally, the best specimens of the work were procured. Upon these specimens and information gleaned at large from the older women of both bands we may base the claims of the survival until today of the feather technique in Virginia. The specimens submitted are indeed poor but tangible evidences of the old art's provenience and partial character.

The material employed in the technique is native-raised and homespun cotton, which forms the base material of the fabric.

The feathers used are primarily those of the wild turkey, domestic turkey, shelldrake, Guinea fowl, Virginia cardinal, flicker, and in one case parts of commercial ostrich-feathers dyed blue.

The technique itself is not complicated, being neither particularly difficult to operate nor to describe. The plain knitting stitch is employed. Four steel or bone needles are used. Mrs. Adams said that she understood that the long leg-bones of herons, "cranes," were used before trade needles reached them. Several of these (fig. 130) were obtained as specimens of the same, taken from the great blue heron. As the knitting proceeds, at a third or fourth stitch, a single feather is worked into the fabric, being caught fast by its base and sometimes the shank of the plume, which is, of course, soft and pliable, the feathers being carefully selected with this in view, and is caught in several stitches to hold it tight. In the better executed specimens the feathers are quite firmly attached. The turkey-feather cape, for instance, may be suspended by almost any one of the feathers without danger of its shaking loose.

This cape (figs. 4, 127) is made of native-spun cotton and wild-turkey breast-feathers, while near the ends the white feathers of the shelldrake are used. The color of the body of the garment is beautifully



FIG. 128.—*a*, Specimen of feather weaving, Mattaponi (ostrich feathers); *b*, Piece of woven featherwork for decoration on front seam of moccasin, Mattaponi (wild-turkey, guinea-fowl, and goose feathers); *c*, Piece of featherwork for front of pouch Pamunkey (flicker, cardinal, and wild-turkey feathers). Length,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.

iridescent black or bronze, the ends being varied with black and white. Strings of the cotton foundation, woven with fine duck-down, at each end permit the cape to be tied about the neck.



FIG. 129.—Pamunkey moccasin-tops of wild-turkey feathers.  
Length, 13 in. (11/8139)

The small specimen (fig. 128, *c*) is similarly woven and ornamented with cardinal, wild-turkey, and flicker feathers. It was to form the decorated front of a pouch. These two were made by Mrs. Adams. Mrs. Langston at Mattaponi made the other two small objects (fig. 128, *a*, *b*), one woven, like the preceding,



of guinea-fowl feathers, the other, of blue ostrich-feathers, intended for a moccasin-top decoration.

Mrs. Langston says that in her mother's time, some sixty years ago, specimens of such capes and even moccasins were not infrequent. In fact they are rather well known in both tribes by hearsay. Duck-feathers are spoken of as much used, reminding one forcibly of the references in the older literature on the southern tribes. Mrs. Langston says that the stiff ends of the plumes projecting through the inside surface of the fabric were generally trimmed off even with the textile and then the feather surface was "rubbed down until it looked like fur."

Mention here might also be made of feather capes, known as well in recent times, in which heron-feathers were simply sewed on a cloth cape in rows one above the other and overlapping. These are of course much more simple than the woven garments, but evidently none the less aboriginal. A collar of this form appears worn as part of the Indian costume in the photo-



FIG. 130.—Pamunkey heron leg-bone needles. Length, 7.6 and 6 in. (10/5702)

graph of Chief W. T. Bradby (figs. 5, 6). The use of whole duck-skins as head coverings has persisted until the present. One such, worn by Lee Major, of Mattaponi, is shown in fig. 15. Loon- and heron-skins, either breasts or backs of the bird entire,



FIG. 131.—Mattaponi feather headdress. Height, 11 in. (9/7766)

were also employed. Descriptions of these articles, however, belong more appropriately under the topic of costume and ornament.

The last and perhaps the most interesting specimen to come to hand is a pair of moccasin-tops (fig. 129) made by Mrs. Adams. These are of wild-

turkey breast-feathers woven on the cotton foundation in the same manner as in the cape. The feathers cover the entire top and sides of the moccasin, which is of the single instep seam type of the southern tribes, originally of deerskin, later of canvas.

For Virginia we have numerous early references and descriptions of feather weaving.

Of the Virginia Indians, Captain John Smith's account (1612) says: "We have seen some use mantels made of Turkey patterns, so prettily wrought and woven with tweeds that nothing could be discerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warm and very handsome."<sup>1</sup>

Strachey, writing in 1622, uses almost the same words as does Smith in describing this remarkable art. He refers, however, frequently to the remarkable feather technique, referring to "cloaks of feathers," "mantells of feathers," and describes a certain queen of Chawopo, who entertained him, dressed in a "mantell which they call *puttawus*, which is like a side cloake, made of blew feathers, so arteficyally and thick sowed together, that it seemed like a deepe purple satten, and is very smooth and sleeke." He says these fabrics were sewed with thread of a kind of grass called *pemmenaw* spun between the thigh and the hands, and that not only mantles, but trousers and fishlines were

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<sup>1</sup> Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, op. cit., p. 100.



FIG. 132.—Two shell beads (*roanoke*) from the Pamunkey reservation, King William county, Va., and fourteen specimens of fossil univalve wampum from site of Apocant, Chickahominy river. (10/5757, 5805)



made of it.<sup>1</sup> In another reference Strachey says that in Virginia the feather mantle was called *cawassow*.<sup>2</sup>

The extension of the feather-woven fabrics to the Hudson river is vouched for by several references to this art among the Delaware Indians of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Swedish and Dutch authors described "ingenious suits" made of turkey-feathers overlapping, and held together by means of wild-hemp cord.<sup>3</sup> Skinner has compiled ethnological information concerning the Delawares of Staten Island, N. Y., in which there is reference to doublets of turkey-feathers in De Vries' Journal and other documents.<sup>4</sup>

Heckewelder<sup>5</sup> has a description of the mantles:

Blankets made from feathers were also warm and durable. They were the work of the women, particularly of the old, who delight in such work. . . . It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious

<sup>1</sup> Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, pp. 58, 65, 68, 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, Amandus, *The Indians and their Culture as Described in Swedish and Dutch Records from 1614 to 1664*, *Proc. Nineteenth Internat. Congr. Americanists*, Washington, 1915 (1917), p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> Skinner, A. B., *The Lenape Indians of Staten Island*, *Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. III, N. Y., 1909, pp. 40-41.

<sup>5</sup> Heckewelder, John, *Indian Nations*, *Mem. Hist. Soc. Penn.*, vol. XII, Philadelphia, 1876, pp. 202-3.

manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged, and interwoven together with thread or twine which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them.

The most northerly record of the feather mantle is encountered in Roger Williams' description<sup>1</sup> of the turkey-feather mantles of the Narragansett of Rhode Island. He remarks: "Neyhommaûa-shunck,<sup>2</sup> a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their Neyhommaûog or Turkies, which commonly their old men make; and is with them as velvet with us." Willoughby<sup>3</sup> quotes several other references to the art in New England.

Among the Gulf and lower Mississippi tribes the feather technique was still more prominent, as is attested by a number of explorers and historians. The Carolina tribes of Siouan affinity were acquainted with the art, as we learn from Lawson, who in 1701 recorded it for the Santee and Catawba.<sup>4</sup>

Lawson mentions a "doctor" of the Santee who "was warmly and neatly clad with a match coat,

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<sup>1</sup> Williams, Roger, *Key to the Indian Language*, *Coll. Rhode Island Hist. Soc.*, vol. I, Providence, 1827, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> The term is literally "turkey mantle": *néyhom* (pl. *-mâuog*, op. cit., p. 85); *-uashunck* denotes a mantle or cloak.

<sup>3</sup> Willoughby, C. C., in *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. VII, no. 1, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> Lawson, John, *History of Carolina*, 1714, quoted and discussed by James Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East*, Washington, 1894, pp. 70-79.

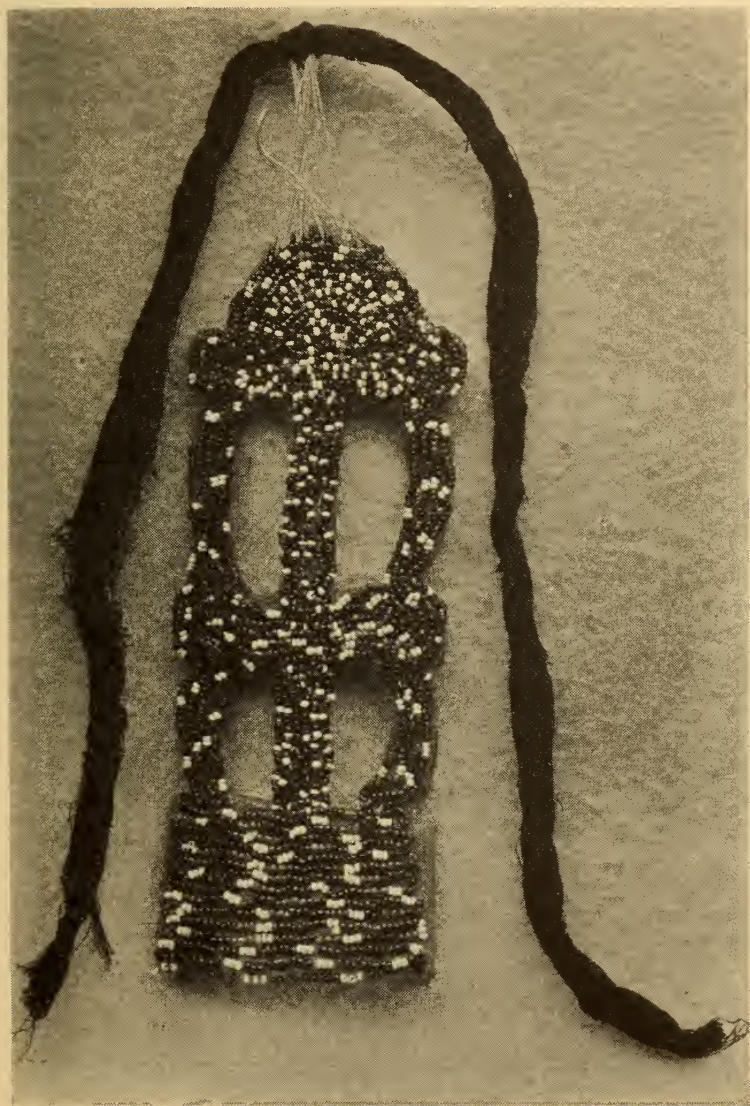


FIG. 133.—Chickahominy chief's neck-ornament. Length,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
(11/8148)

made of turkies feathers, which makes a pretty show, seeming as if it was a garment of the deepest silk shag." <sup>1</sup>

In another place the same author says:

Their feather match coats are very pretty, especially some of them, which are made extraordinary charming, containing several pretty figures wrought in feathers, making them seem like a fine flower silk shag; and when new and fresh, they become a bed very well instead of a quilt. Some of another sort are made of hair, racoon, beaver, or squirrel skins, which are very warm. Others again are made of the green part of the skin of a mallard's head, which they sew perfectly well together, their thread being either the sinews of a deer divided very small, or silk grass. When these are finished, they look very finely, though they must needs be very troublesome to make.<sup>2</sup>

Feather mantles "of various colors" of the tribes of the South Carolina coast, identified by Swanton as Cusabo, were mentioned by Peter Martyr.<sup>3</sup> Again the feather mantles were seen among the Mobile Indians in 1540 and described as follows by Ranjel: "He [the chief] also wore a pelote or mantle of feathers down to his feet, very imposing." <sup>4</sup>

The Creeks were adepts in the art of feather weaving, for Bartram was impressed with the beauty of cloaks woven of flamingo-feathers which he described in several of his works.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lawson, *ibid.*, Raleigh ed., 1860, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 311-12.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Swanton, J. R., *Early History of the Creek Indians*, *Bull.* 73, *Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, 1922, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> Bartram, Wm., *Travels Through North and South Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1791, pp. 502-03, and *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians* (1789), in *Trans. Amer. Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. III, pt. 1 (1853), p. 29.



Du Pratz thus describes the art in Louisiana:

If the women know how to do this kind of work they make mantles either of feathers or woven of the bark of the mulberry tree. We will describe their method of doing this. The feather mantles are made on a frame similar to that on which the peruke makers work hair; they spread the feathers in the same manner and fasten them on old fish nets or old mantles of mulberry bark. They are placed, spread in this manner, one over the other and on both sides; for this purpose small turkey feathers are used; women who have feathers of swans or India ducks, which are white, make these feather mantles for women of high rank.<sup>1</sup>

And in another place he continues:

Many of the women wear cloaks of the bark of the mulberry tree, or of the feathers of swans, turkies, or India ducks. The bark they take from young mulberry shoots that rise from the roots of trees that have been cut down; after it is dried in the sun they beat it to make all the woody part fall off, and they give the threads that remain a second beating, after which they bleach them by exposing them to the dew. When they are well whitened they spin them about the coarseness of pack-thread, and weave them in the following manner: they plant two stakes in the ground about a yard and a half asunder, and having stretched a cord from the one to the other, they fasten their threads of bark double to this cord, and then interweave them in a curious manner into a cloak of about a yard square with a wrought border round the edges.<sup>2</sup>

Butel-Dumont also adds to the testimony by

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<sup>1</sup> Le Page Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, English trans., London, 1763, vol. II, pp. 191-92.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

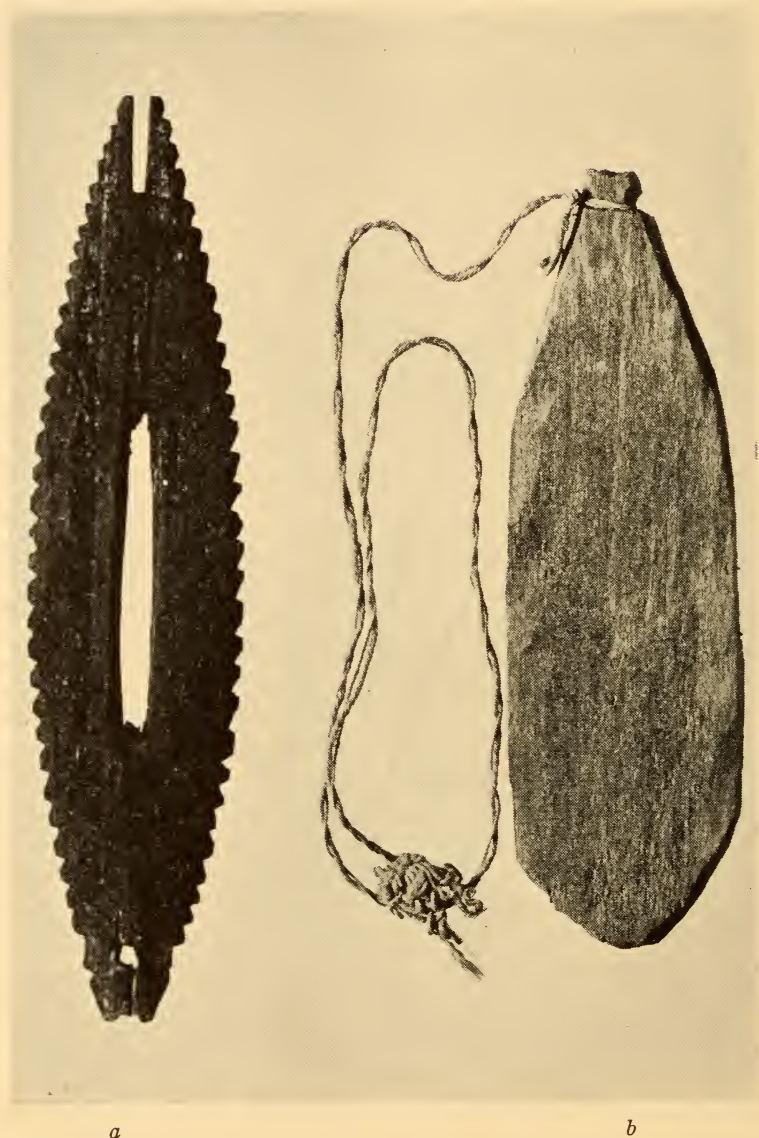


FIG. 134.—Old (*a*) and new (*b*) types of Mattaponi bullroarers.  
Length of *a*,  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in. (9/7738, 7759)

briefly describing the featherwork of the natives of Louisiana as follows:

They [the women] also, without a spinning wheel or distaff, spin the hair or wool of cattle of which they make garters and ribands; and with the thread which they obtain from lime-tree bark, they make a species of mantle, which they cover with the finest swan's feathers one by one to the material. A long task indeed, but they do not count this trouble and time when it concerns their satisfaction.<sup>1</sup>

The featherwork of the Choctaw is described by Adair as follows:

They likewise make turkey feather blankets with the long feathers of the neck and breast of that large fowl—they twist the inner end of the feathers very fast into a strong double thread of hemp, or the inner bark of the mulberry tree, of the size and strength of coarse twine, as the fibres are sufficiently fine, and they work it in manner of fine netting. As the feathers are long and glittering, this sort of blankets is not only very warm, but pleasing to the eye.<sup>2</sup>

At Cutifachiqui similar fabrics were observed by members of De Soto's expedition in 1540:

In the barbacoas were large quantities of clothing, shawls of thread, made from the barks of trees and others of feathers, white gray, vermilion and yellow, rich and proper for winter.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Mémoire sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, vol. 1, pp. 154-55.

<sup>2</sup> Adair, James, *History of the American Indians*, London, 1775, pp. 422-23.

<sup>3</sup> *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida as told by a Knight of Elvas*, translated by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1866, p. 63.

Later authors<sup>1</sup> have mentioned this elaborate art and commented upon its diffusion. Wissler suggests a Mexican center of diffusion<sup>2</sup> where the technique is most elaborate and equals the Peruvian work in quality and complexity. The distribution of featherwork in South America is wide and the technique conforms in general with that of Peru.<sup>3</sup>

### POSTSCRIPT

In the foregoing chapters I have completed the third of a series of monographs dealing with the modern cultural life of communities of descendants tracing their origin from the tribes inhabiting the Chesapeake tidewater area. The question arises as to the bearing of such studies on the ethnology of the original native groups, since there has been so

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<sup>1</sup> Willoughby, C. C., *The Virginia Indians in the Seventeenth Century*, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. IX, 1907, p. 69. Holmes, W. H., *Prehistoric Textile Art of the Eastern United States*, *Thirteenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, 1891-92, pp. 24-30.

<sup>2</sup> Wissler, Clark, *The American Indian*, 1917, p. 61. He quotes Sahagun as the principal source for the description of this trait-complex. The most accessible treatment for Central America is that of Eduard Seler, *Ancient Mexican Feather Ornaments*, *Bull. 28, Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, 1904, and for the Maya, P. Schellhas, *Comparative Studies in the Field of Maya Antiquities*, *ibid.*, pp. 611-12.

<sup>3</sup> Mead, C. W., *Technique of Some South American Feather Work*, *Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. I, pt. 1, 1907. E. Nordenskiöld (*An Ethnogeographical Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco*, Gothenburg, 1919, p. 230) emphasizes the lack of data for a study of distribution in South America.



extensive a transformation in their make-up through European influence. The Virginia Indians, like all peoples passing through successive changes in their transit from simple to complex culture, must have undergone revolutions in their mode of life many times. This can be imagined when we picture the waves of influence that swept across their frontiers from surrounding areas in earlier times. These changes, before the coming of Europeans, would all seem to have remained within the horizon of native American culture, hence were less violent in effect. For, viewed at several periods of their history, separated by intervals of a century, we see the same tribes greatly altered in their physical and cultural aspects. By contrast with the tribes in Beverley's time they are constitutionally new tribes now. Despite this, something more than moral and social tradition survives to continue the group as a unit under its old name.

It is difficult to point out just what surviving qualities there are beyond those discussed herein. Conversions of similar magnitude from one type of civilization to another have marked their progress, as is apparent in scanning their history since 1607. And again the same may be inferred easily when we build upon ethnological and archeological inferences. Although possessed of Algonkian speech, with affinities northward, their social and political properties, as known to us, conform to southeastern Siouan types, while their religious peculiarities point

to affinities with the southeast in general. Sweeping cultural change is indicated. Finally when the change—nearly the ultimate one before demise—comes to them through the agency of Europeans, whose cultural properties we know too well to consider interesting when transferred to other races, the thing appears as a platitude and we are inclined to discount the final condition as lacking in value and appeal. Yet it is obvious that this should not be so in the eyes of culture historians, lest through similar sentiments the account of greater modern peoples similarly transformed be closed—a case not without parallel in Europe and Asia. Culture history does not cease to evolve even for these wasted remnants of peoples whose will and temperament three centuries ago meant success or failure to the struggling and feeble colonies whose descendants have replaced them.

Now comes an era of reconstruction since 1920. The descendants of the Powhatan groups, to avert obliteration of their names and racial tradition, have organized into corporate associations and proceeded along modern lines to carry on a social program for consolidation of their forces. It opens another phase of their history, hopeful in certain aspects, though impeded by recollections of recent social oppression, poverty, slander, and naïve ignorance of white diplomacy. Their desire to exist as smaller nationalities is behind the move. To revive the individuality of their Indian ancestry, they have

resorted to grafting customs borrowed from alien Indian groups upon their own denuded cultural framework. This accounts for the introduction of elements of costume, ceremony, and social pageantry met with in their modern tribal life and conspicuous in some of the illustrations of this paper. The critic regards it as degenerate ethnology; but it is not, except in technique: rather is it regenerate. Now at the final move they face the alternatives of losing hold completely and turning down and out in their endeavor, or, more happily, of struggling onward with revived vigor and purpose. The future student of American folk-communities of Indian descent will find here new tribes with new trait-complexes to analyze and interpret. These contributions represent some culture aspects of the humble groups now at a climax and turning point in their history.

#### APPENDIX NOTE

The following note in reference to the regalia of the Queen of Pamunkey was received from Dr. W. Franklin Jones of Richmond (correspondence, November 21, 1928):

"The Queen of Pamunkey, a descendant of Opechancanough and Totopotomoi's widow, was introduced into the room and recognized in certain special dignities. Accompanied by an interpreter, and her son, a youth of 20 years, she entered with graceful

dignity. Around her head she wore a plait of black and white wampumpeake, a drilled purple bead of shell, three inches wide, after the manner of a crown."

"There is preserved in the House of Chief Justice John Marshall, Richmond, Va., a silver frontlet, purchased from the Indians, with a coat of arms, and inscribed 'The Queen of Pamunkey,' 'Charles, the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland and Virginia,' and '*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*'

"This frontlet is mounted on a purple velvet turban; the chains are missing, and I have copied the following description as written.

"This silver frontlet was a gift from Charles the Second of England to the Queen of the Pamunkey Indians who were then located in the eastern counties of Virginia. The original gift to the Queen was a Royal Purple Velvet Crown to which this frontlet was attached by heavy silver chains.

"For many years much prized by the Pamunkey Tribe, it was in the keeping of the Chief. Desiring to move further West, the Indians, in the early part of the 19th century, set out upon their march. Sickness and a severe winter detained them near Hollywood, Stafford county, Virginia, the estate of Alexander Morson. He permitted them to camp upon his place and was very kind to them, giving them food and medicine and making them comfortable. Spring found the Indians ready to move. The Chief called upon Mr. Morson to express



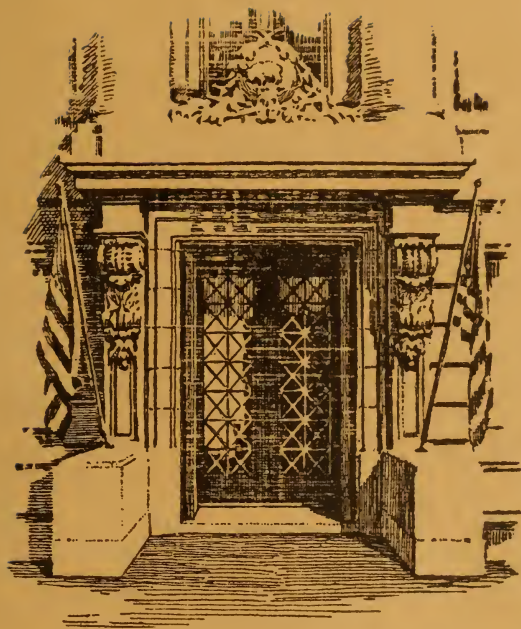
gratitude for his kindness and presented this precious relic as a gift, the only thing of value possessed by the tribe. Mr. Morson was unwilling to accept the gift, but when before leaving the Chief again insisted upon its acceptance, Mr. Morson consented to purchase the relic for its weight in silver coin, and upon those terms became the owner. By his father's will this relic came into the possession of Mr. Arthur Morson of Richmond, and later into possession of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities by purchase.'"











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